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The Mail

3.1.1921 to 29.1.21

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40. 8-1-1921.

CONGRESS AND CRIME.

From those who are more interested in the psycology of politics than in the respective merits or demerits of Parties the close bond of sympathy existing between emotional politicians and the criminal classes always presents a curious problem, of course, it is a short sighted and partial solution simply to assert that emotional prohibitions are criminal on the contrary they are more anxious than any other political type to conform to what they conceive to the virtuous principles. Yet the fact remains,. For example as soon as Reuter cabled the news of the atrocities member in Dublin anyone familiar with British politics could exactly progrosticate the names of those public men who would do everything in their power to gloze over the enormity of the offence find excused frame counter charges and generally embarras the authorities. The detailed news which has arrived by mail shows that that is precisely what Mr.Asquith and the men whose brief he holds have been doing Again, in India although to anyone who troubled to read the Acts founded on the unanimous Report of the Rowlatt committee it was patent that they were directed solely against a criminal loss.

Nevertheless this legislation was virulently attacked by the same sort of politicaian. And even now when the event has proved that private liberties were in no way effected the magic word Rowlatt fetches a groar even from co-operative platforms.

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It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Indian National Congress, with all India as its field when drafting a declaration of Rights should have devoted the greater part of the manifesto to suggested reforms in criminal procedure conceived entirely in favour of the criminal. The fourth Right runs:-

"Every Indian subject of His Majesty shall be entitled to bear arms without any previous permission on licence from any authority and the rights shall not cease temporily or permanently, except under a sentence by a court of Justice convicting him of a criminal offence involving his abuse, of such right". It is sometimes asserted that the porixuous possession of army is restricted in British India in order to preserve the safety of the British a story so stupid that it is hard to say for whose consumption it was that it is invented. The Arms act has never prevented assassing from finding weapons now are such weapons as are licensed essential to their purpose. Arms are licensed as in England and all other civilised countries for the sake of the law abiding citizens. The Congress proposal would reduce the whole of India to the state of Colorado minimng camp. People live in terror of torchlight dacoity when dacoits are only armed with sticks. How would an Indian in village fare with gunmen at each corner of its four streets and a gong going from house to house armed with magozine rifles and autocratic pistols? Yet that is the Right which congress asserts to be the privelege of the Indian people.

Then came rights which are intended to hamper the legitimate work of the police, a needless refinement for such policeman as had the temerity to remain in the Force after every budmast was armed would soon be killed. There are to be no

cognizable offences, no summary search and everwhere a search warrant is issued, no search of any part of a house not specificially mentioned therein. A man may be robbed near a police station, but unless a magisterial warrant is obtained the robber can snap his fingers at the police. Suppose as often happen a bag of money is snatched from a railway travellor the policemen may not arrest the thief unless he himself sees the act committed. and even there he may not search the thief but must march him off to a magistrate ~~learning~~ earning the cost clear for his confederates. Unless a police officer sureptitiously obtain a plan of a house in which he knows stolen property to be cancelled be may not search that house for the warrant must more and any room that is omitted can not be searched. But supposing that, by some miraculous chance, a docoit or notorious house breaker is arrested, then he must at once be released on bail; and in as much as he armed to the teeth his presence in the village will no doubt have a reassuring influence upon the witness for the crown. Jurymen influence upon the witness for the crown, too will be subject it to intimidation and when she comes to her rights India will be composed of Jurymen. Another right is:- every ~~Ending~~ Indian subject accused of an offence punishable otherwise than with simple imprisonment but three months or with five only is entitled to demand his trial by Jury."

This means that every offence except petty matters like nuisance in towns will be tried by Jury, and every Sub-magistrates or Bench court will be thronged with a happy crowd of jurors waiting to be called. It also means, what the draft men of this right probably do not realise that

there will be no none appeals in fact in British India. A few scared Jurors in a factious village will have the last say in the matter.

Probably not even its authors suppose that this precious Declaration will ever find its way to the Statue Book; but for all that it is not innocuons. This is a liberal on the good sense of the Indian people. The National Congress styles itself the representative Of India and its recent session broke up with much self congratulation over the admirable impression which it had made on the outside world. Its complacency was largely bared on the back that like, the people of Euphesus it had cried out all with one voice, for a considerable space ~~of all with one voice for a considerable space~~ of time. Unfortunatey shouts do mot, and documents do travel. Any intelligent stranger to India who reads those Rights must assume that it is not a question whether Indians will but whether, they can co-operate in responsible Government. Yet in every Indian village there are sensible men with a strike in the country who can take some views in regard to criminal law or any other vital matter. Will the Reforms succeed in giving the Administration the suffrages of this solid body or will India continue to ~~the~~ be "represented by men who are incapable of approaching any practical question with seniors thought?

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41. THE DUKE'S SPEECH. 11-1-1921.

Madras has rarely seen such large crowds as assembled to welcome His Royal Highness the Duke of Cannanght yesterday evening. The whole of the route was lined with larger spectators wanting to welcome the Royal visitor to their city and to show by their presence their loyalty and ~~manage~~ honour to the king Emperor whose messenger he is. The greatness of the multitude could only fairly be judged when after the passing of the Ropal procession the streets were thrown open to traffic. Then devise crowds thronged the roads as far as one could see and for many minutes it was impossible for any other traffic to pass. Thus did Madras answer by deed the appeal of the non-co-operations to boycott the Royal visit. For ourselves we think that the attempt; to boycott the procession did more good than harm It roused the people to the portrait of the Duke's visit and more it awake a response from the innate loyally of the citizens of Madras which as the event proves, completely confonded the schemes of the boycotters. It was as though the people had sensed the import was as though of the speech which the Duke was to make in reply to the loyal address presented on their behalf by their civic representations. In his reply His Royal Highness appealed to the people not to ~~wood~~ brood over their troubles and difficulties and to follow the paths which lead to bitterness and strife but to seek by greater mutual confidence and goodwill to a chance that high destiny from which given sanity and true patriotism in her leaders, nothing can debar this glorious land.

His Royal Highness did not seek to be-little the stormy times through which India has been passing. He recognised them but with the wisdome of the truly great he recognised too

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that the future holds promise of golries besides which the troubles and difficulties of the postpale into insignificance. It is not by dwelling on the past tragedy or that past failure, that progress is to be made. It is not to use the apt metaphor of H.R.H. by looking in the troubled waters in the wake of our ship that we can steer for the heaven of full self Government but by lengthening the focus of our glasses, and keeping a keen lookout ahead. What is needed in these days are fore sighted leaders, men who can take long views and forget the troubles of the past in striving for the goal before us. And as the Duke rightly reminds us none of us can ~~as cope~~ escape our responsibility in the work of ~~nzgional~~ national development. No man can offord to stand aloof. India need every citizen's help in the great work of nation building which she is now beginning. No man is worthy of citizenship who does not play his part in this great hour of service.

Those who ~~have call~~ preach the doctrine of non-co-operation tell the people that they can achieve ~~co-operation tell the people that thye can achieve~~ national great-ness for none quickly by sitting down and doing nothing than by individual effort. It is a comfortable doctrine in many ways, a lazy doctrine but it is a false one; for nothing really worth having was ever gained without effort, and India cannot hope to attain full self Government without striving and working for it. The people of Madras are not slow to realise this. Non-co-operation has made less progress in this Presidency than in any other part of India. This has been demonstrated over and over again and yesterday the people of this Presidency demonstrated it once more in a most unmistakable manner. It was as if they said to the advocates of the bocycott: "Away with your absurd policy, the King Emperor's messenger comes bringing with him ~~or~~ a message of hope from H.M. and the people of great Britian a message of ~~whom~~ warm sympathy and firm good will. We will go to greet him and by the condiality of our wel-

come by the course of our members prove to him that we are waiting to learn the past to look after itself and seek for the good the the future will bring" That we believe, is the answer to the great mass of the people who those who would be little the reforms and boycott the King Emperor's messenger. It is an answer well founded on the faith confirmed by H.R.H. that the throne and people of great Britian truly sympathise with Indian aspirations and will not cease to support the people of India in their on-ward march. H.R.H. brings to India a message of hope and goodwill a call for co-operation and mutual sympathy which coming from a true friend of her people will not, we feel sure fail to awaken a ready response from all true loves of this great country.

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18-1-1921.

42. BACON'S LESSON FOR INDIA

Mill strikes again in Bombay and further agitation feared. the outcome of ~~Madras~~ Traders unionism so well calculated for the General welfare that the stores fly before the workmen's demands can possibly be men ever though they were not weighed for a moment disorder and disaster cropping up constantly, faith there, then have and always in the wake of some one who has made it his business to forment them. It accured to us the other day that if the ubiquitous inhabitant from Madras were to visit India he would probably consider the political situation have the most inexplicable of the problems presented by Raith.. And the question as it sometimes will sizes on us with a fresh surprise, even on those who have been for years in India and are non-co-operation weary: what is at the bottom if it all?" As a rule of the Englishman drops the question quickly enough, an onlooker who refuses to be disturbed by what he cannot prevent. But it happened on that day that we were fresh from a re-reading of the "Northern ~~fxxx~~ and those particular words had impressed themselves wherein Bacon remarks that, "in this theater of man's life it is reserved only for god and the angels to be lookers on" He has emphasised the thought repeating it and amplifying it in various ways, and in various places urging one to the conclusion that a negative position is incompatible with one's co mon humanity. We were forced to continue to meet the question squarely- What is the true explanation of this stirring up of the masses".

Cynicism suggested the mature which is at the ~~sort~~ root of 9/10th of ~~mx~~ human action. Can it ended be vanity? The Baconian atmosphere is one that clings; it recalled the

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admiration concerning the desirability of "setting down in the very beginning the definition of our words and terms that others may know how we accept and understand them, and whether they concur with us or no". We turned to the dictionary. "Vanity" is used in two senses. In the first it means "futility, unsubstantiality, unreality, emptiness", in the second, empty pride conceit". A voice often lurks under the shadow of a nighbour virtue. The "Nomu Vrganum" is full of wise "saws." of late years the virtue of patriotism has been made to give shadow to many unattractive virtues, but to none so often as vanity. Mr. Gandhi should be above such petty suspicion. Yet it is true that he has slowly and steadily descending from the dedestal he occupied when he visited Madras a few years ago. He was then Mahatma Gandhi, wise and saintly. Later events made it clear that he was not wise, no wise man sincerely desirons of the public good could have organised the hartal of April 1918. His subsequent behaviour raised a doubt as to whether he was sincerely desirous of public good; We began reluctantly to weaken in our belief in his sanctity. But we have never credited him with self seeking; we have thought him single of purpose however much we disapproved the purpose. None that wiset, plain, almost homely saying of Bacon's sugg sts itself- "Th re is commonly less money, less wisdom and less good faith than men do count upon. And then that two fold definition in the dictionary: "Futility, unreality empty pride conceit" Is it all a gigantic price of conceit.?

We offer no opinion, but we offer the question for consideration to all non-co-operators and all agitators and demagogues at present disturbing Indians peace. None could appreciate it better. No modern men are better acquiated with or more admiring of Bacon's Works than Indians. They less than any others ought to fall into that gigantic

state of mind which possesseth the troubles of the world such as was Lncing Sylla and infinite others in smaller model who would give form to the world according to their oun humours; and which though it pretendeth and aspireth to active good recedeth further from the good of society.

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43. 21-1-1921.

INDIA AND LABOUR.

(Notes. Sub-editorial).

Our London correspondent, writing on the 30th December remarked;-- The preceedngs at the National Congress at Nagpur are being closely watched, not so much because we are apprehensive of what may happen there, since the value of these gatherings is always overrated; but because of the effort to misrepresent British opinion to the India del egates. There are two parties of Pro-Indian campaigners in England just as there are in India. On the one hand there is the Labour Party which has a broad and reasonable sympathy with the home rule developments in India, but which has no inclination to work on any except constitutional lines., on the other there is another group styling itself the "Hands off India" Party which endeavours to show that labour is in favour of non-co-operation. There was recently a meeting of delegates to an Indian Home Rule Meeting in England at which Mr. George Lansbury and Mr. Morison of the Labour Party executive, spoke in favour of Co-operation when they had gone, an amendment was proposed and carried on the line of suggestion of Mr.B.Horniman in favour of the line of policy to which Mr.Lansbury and Mr. Morison strongly objected. They have since written their real views on the subject, and Mr. Adamson of the Labour Party has equally expressed himself strongly in favour of co-operation. But this of course does not affect the extremists who are now trying over here as no doubt they are in India to represent labour as on the side of Mr. Gandhi. Indeed the misrepresentations over India are becoming

more and more glaring and Indian Extremists, helped by avowed communists, are tub thumpking on various platforms holding up everything British to obloguy. In the circumstances, it is only natural that some others ae beginning it is only natural that some others are beginning to tell the taluk; but not enough in this direction is being done. It is true that such papers as the "West minister Gazette" ridicules the idea of the economic boycott suggestes at Nagpur, but all over the country the ignorant are being told th t we are grinding the Indian people ~~sort~~ into the dust and are being regard with every sort of misrepresentation. Much of this denunciation is so stupid as to be almost inconceivable, but it is doing real harm and unless the labour Party itself tackles it properly, it may find if ever it comes into office and has to shoulder responsibility that it has allowed without protest, the creation of a problem which may give it way serious troubles in future unfortunately at present Labour is not seriously studying India.

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51. 25-1-1921.

IS IT REPRESENTATIVE? (NOTES SUB-LEADER.)

Is the Indian legislative Assembly representative of the Indian people or not? The exteremest of course, will answer "It is not", but they are blessed judges. The question is one which was put to the members of the Assembly by Mr. Hailey as a result of the perisstent attempts which were being made by Members to defer decisions on important questions untill the public had been enabled to form an opinion there on. Mr. Hailey reminded the Members that they were elected as representative of the people and that they should bear the responsibilities attacking to their position. It is clear from what has recently taken place that many Members of the Assembly do not quite recognise the enourmous change which the Reforms have brought about. They are no longer critics outside the Government. They are a part of the Government and have to make decisions and take the result thereof whether it be the approbation of the people or their ~~demoeration~~ denunciation. No Government could carry on their work if every decision had to await an expression of opinion from the whole country. The very purpose of an elected legislature is to be found in the imperative need for avoiding the delay such a course would entail. The making of decisions is part of the duty of peoples's representations and it is the fact that they have to answer to the people for the decisions they arrive at that makes caution and soberety in the conduct of all serious Assemblies.

This for this reason that we do not expect to see sensational decisions being made in the Legislative Assembly

and more than we expect much decision except on very rare acceptions in the House of Commons. The whole aspect of Indian political life is now changed and as time goes on we shall ~~we thi~~ we think find that a definitely conservative Party will make its appearance here a party as hostile to revolutionary changes as every was the much maligred bureaucrat.

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44. 28-1-1921.

INTERPELLATIONS IN COUNCIL

In a letter to the editor a correspondent writes:-- After the introduction of the Reforms and the consequent devolution of powers and responsibilities on the people's representatives, the right of asking question though an important function is thrown in the background. We are aware of retiring "Honourables" desiring reelection asking the electorate to test this work by the number of questions they put in the council and for that purpose had printed and published those questions in book form. Cynics were not wanting to shake their self complacency by remarking that putting questions involved the least labour and trouble despite the cheap reputation for public work that it might bring. Work in the present councils involve much more tourble and expenditure of energy than asking questions and entails much devotion of time to the study of administrative and economic problems. I can appreciate the frame of mind which shank from secking the suffrages and undertaking the responsibility highly when one is notable to affort the necess ry time and trouble to study public questions. I am sure the members of the new councils are imbued with a due sense of their responsibility. Qeustions already published, with some excepions are framed with the honest desire to get information and some of them are potential of future constructive proposals that could be based on the answers given. A question ought to be judged, not by its attractiveness or sometimes but by its answering this test. One fact that may well be remembered is that every question involves a lot of work in the public offices from top to bottom and these offices are maintained at public expense.

Motions for papers to be supplied to the House might more freequently be made with ~~fp~~ profit to the public than questions intended to show the temper of the questioner.

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45. 2-2-1921.

Mr. Gandhi's Apology. (Notes-Sub-Leader)

Up to the present Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation crusade has done little or nothing to the success of H.R.H. the Duke of Cannaughts mission on the other hand, the welcome accorded to the Royal visitor has proved the futility of the crusade, why therefore should Mr. Gandhi be so anxious to apologise to the Duke passes comprehension except it be that he wishes to manufacture exculpatory evidence against public contingencies. It is all very well for the Mr. Montagu's friend to differentiate so meticulously between the objects of his so called boycott. He may be able to keep his object steadfastly before him, but the question arises whether those into whose hands he had entruested the carrying out of his scheme will do the same. Mr. Gandhi is evidently fond of playing with fire in the shape of schemes which may very easily cause a conflagration by the too easy crossing of the line which seperates non-violent observance of then from violent forcing of them on those unwilling to comply. What is Mr. Gandhi's mouth may be a retetarical out burst lower down the line of his followers may produce an outburst of another kind.

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46. 4--2--1921.

"NATIONAL" EDUCATION.

One of the reasons most frequently advanced by non-cooperators when persuading students to cease Government and aided schools and colleges, is that the education imparted, in those institutions results in the creation of what they describe as a "slave mentality". In view of this one would naturally expect that when the non-co-operators start their own so called "National" schools and colleges they would leave the syllabus of official institutions severely alone; But what do we find. In Bombay a message today tells us the newly opened national college teaches ~~the syllabus opened National college teaches~~ the syllabus of the Bombay University. In Aligrah the National University of which by the way we heard very little lately follows the same courses of study as the Muslim university, which it seeks to displace. And so the tale might be continued. Whenever a national schools or college has been started we almost invariably find that its teaching is either identical withtthat of the Government and aided institutions or is founded thereon.

The truth is that non-co-operators are destroyers rather than creators. They seek to pull down the elaborate educational edifice which has been errected through the Labours of generations of enthusiastic manner of women. Indians and Europeans but they have nothing to put in its place. Students may shout themselves hoarse at non-co-operation meetings may ~~clear~~ Cheer with the greatest enthusiasm would declarations by short sighted leaders that they are being turned into slaves, but few of them are willing to follow the advice of those idealist leaders who would have

them turn from the study of the arts and science of that of weaving and spinning few are willing to exchange the pen for the ploughshare. And the non-co-operators having nothing else to offer them. How many students are willing to go back to the days of the old tial schools to make that absolute submission to a "gum" such as was exacted from "chelas" in days gone by. Very few and when learned non-co-operators who them selves owe much of their present knowledge to teaching received in official institutions advocate a return to such conditions at is difficult to acquit them of ~~happacisly~~ hypocrisy.

Already the results of their teaching is to be seem is the complete absence of descipline in many of their followers. Having taught false ideas of liberty having confounded discipline with ~~staney~~ slavery they can hardly expect obedience in their pupils. And they do not receive it. The forces they have arouse are already beyond their control. We are not surprised when we read as we read today, of meetings broken up by non-co-operating students, of non-co-operations leaders unable to secure a hearing for themselves or thoe they have invited to speak. We hear much of "National education, when there is no such thing, we hear much of ~~Xxxxxx~~ "slave mentality" but we have not yet sum it desorbed on or example given. (The truth is that the non-co-operation movement among students is being bolstered up by a series of "catch words" and phrases which have little or no meaning. When the present fever has passed, when students, find that the education ~~given~~ given in "National" schools differs little if ~~up~~ at all from that in the official institutions that descipline is as necessary in the former as in the latter, and realise that they have sacrifieed valuable time in the pursuit of a plantor that they

have grasped the shadow and lost the substance then we may see such a revulsion of feeling in their ranks as will shatter once for all, the schemes of those who would destroy the elaborate system of education to which India and not least the non-co-operators owe so much.

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47. 9-2-1921.

THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

Never has a great council been inaugurated with more picturesque ceremony or more lofty speeches than characterised the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on the 8th instant. Of those who were privileged to be present the inauguration must have produced an ineffaceable impression of splendour and patriotism, patriotism in the truest sure, of loyalty to the king emperor and to those ideals for which the empire has always stood freedom and justice. H.I.M. the kind emperor, in his proclamation gave a tone to the proceedings which the subsequent speeches fully maintained. H.I.M. expressed his confident hope that the united counsels of the princes and rulers in the chamber would be fruitful of lasting good, both to themselves and their subjects and by advancing the interests that are common to their territories and to the British India would benefit the Empire as a whole. The speeches which followed showed that this confidence was fully shared by the Princes themselves. The consitution of the chamber itself is the result of a desire among the princes, and Rulers of some for some means of common consultation of common issues and for a means whereby they may be able to play a much larger part in the affairs of the Empire than hitherto. This latter the speeches at the inauguration showed, is perhaps the strongest of the reasons which led to the formation of the chamber. The Princes and Rulers of India realise as all who have the true interests of this great country at heart must realise that its future is inseperably bound up with that of the British Empire, that its road to national greatness and the happiness and prosperity of its people is that along which the great Dominions of the Empire are marching. Consequently they desire that India and the Native States which they directly represent shall not fail to give their best in counsel and advice

to those who guide the making of that road. This a laudable desire, one which we can all heartedly appreciate and commend and trust that India's present Princes, and Rulers and those who come after them, will not fail to use the means now afforded then of staisfying that desire and at the same time rendering good service to the empire.

H.I.M. in his proclamation has shown how best the problems of the future are to be faced in a spirit of co-operation and mutual trust. The inauguration of the chamber does not fore shadow any lessening of the Rights and Privileges of the chiefs and Rulers, nor any interference by the Suzerain power in their concerns. The sanctity of Treaties, as H.R.H. the Duke of Cannaught reminded the chamber in his weighty speech is a cardial article and Imperial Policy. It has been affirmed and reaffirmed by the Rulers of British Empire in direct reference to India, to preserve it, in 1914. Britain entered on the greatest war of the Empire's history. The inauguration of the Chamber therefore does not mean any change in the Imperial policy towards Native States. Nor does it mean interference by those stats in the affairs of the Indian Empire. It is a purely consultative body called in to existence in order that there may be a form in which the problems of the future may be freely discussed and a way found for their solution through the exercise of mutual goodwill and Co-operation.

Will the chamber fulfil the purpose for which it was formed in the spirit hoped for by H.I.M? We are sure, it will Read the speeches made by some of India's foremost Rulers at the inauguration. One cannot but he impressed by the depth of sincerity which they reveal. The Maharajah of Gwalior, in words tense with nearing fervently prays that the sessions of the

chamber may help to produce better mutual understanding and promote hearty and effective co-operation between the British Government and the Prices of India. The Maharajah of Bikamir, India's representative at the Peace Conference, and worthy delegate to the Imperial Cabinet reminds us of the inflicting loyalty ~~Imperi~~al ~~cabine~~t ~~reminder~~s ~~of the xxx inflictin~~g ~~loyalt~~y of the Princes of India towards the Throne and Person of the H.I.M. and speakes in tones of the deepest gratitude of the solicitude displayed in our behalf by the establishment of the chamber of Princes". The Maharajah of Patiala, Soldier and progressive Ruler, speaks of the manifold benefits which this chamber will place ~~the manifol~~d b~~enefit~~s ~~which~~ "~~This~~ ch~~amber~~ ~~will place~~ within the reach of the Rulers of Indian States, and declares that the two aspects which appeal to me most are the feeling of solidarity that will grow among us and the enhanced opportunities of co-operation between the British Government and oursevlves and further, hopes that its future history will show many a bright page of solid selfless work done in the interests of our order and of the people whom Providence has entrusted to our care. The Maharajah of Alwar, in an eloquent speech declares that the design of those who worked for the creation of the chamber of Princes was that it might play its part in helping to make India "a loyal and self supporting partner of the British Empire.

In such utterences representative of the feelings of the Indian Princes and Rulers generally, is to be forward the reply to the question which we ask above. They prove that the members of the chamber are determined to work in the spirit of the Roayl Proclamation which announced its foundation the spirit of the co-operation and mutual trust. They willhave many enemies,

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many detractors for there are those who can see no good in Rulers, no happiness in the Empire. But the foundations of those short sighted and often unscrupulous contacts will be as futile as were beating Rulers on a rocky shore if Indian Princes and Rulers close their ranks and stand shoulder to shoulder with the true patriots of greater India in the defence of her greatest blessing the Imperial connection with its promise of security freedom and continued progress.

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48. 14-2-1921.

Non-Brahmins - a new association.

Madras:- A meeting for the purpose of starting an Associaton for promoting the progress to non-Brahmin classes was held on Sunday evening at the Muthialpet High School, George town.

Mr. A.Subbarayalu Naidu M.L.C. who was voted the chair in the course of his speech emphasised the need for union amongst the several classes of the non-Brahmin Community. In his opinion caste must go wholesale. The Adhi Dravidas and non-Brahmins were brothers and the former should be uplifted. Now that there was a sympethetic Government in the Presidency mass education should be introduced as this alone would result in India becoming effecient citizens.

Rao Bahadur O.Kandaswamy chetty, in explaining the aims and methods of the Association reviewed the several stages through which the nonBrahmin movement had hitherto been one of revolt and protest against Brahmins. They had now entered a new and higher stage and the time had come for constructive work along truely democratic lines. It was necessary that non-Brahmins should follow with keen interest the labours of their representatives both in the Government and outside. The Association would have branches in different parts of the city which non-Brahmins as well as Mahomedans and Christians would discuss questions affecting their welfare. The discussions it was proposed to print in the vernaculars for distribution. The Association aimed among other things at communal self examination.

Resolutions forming the Association and appointing a committee with Rao Bahadur O.Kandaswamy chetty as secretary were passed and the meeting then ended.

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49. 16-2-1921.

AN OFFICIAL DEFEAT.

(NOTES SUB-LEADER.)

If the new Madras Legislation Council continues as it has begun it will not be long before the non-co-operators will find themselves forced to admit that the new councils are really democratic institutions that autocracy has infact been abandoned. We refer more particularly to the result of the voting on the resolution to defer the adoption of resettlement proposals in the Presidency till the Principles of land revenue assessment are embodied in legislation. This question of land revenue is one over which the non-officials and officials in the council have frequently fought. Hardly a session of the old council took place without the question coming up for discussion either on the subject of the cost of resettlement parties or on the difficulties felt by ryots as a result of resettlement operations and kindred, matters. But on each occasion the official bloc aided usually by nominated Members was able to defeat all proposals antogonistic to their policy. Now however the official block has dispappered, the member of officials in the new council can be counted on one's fingure and the entire responsibility for there policy has been transfered to the Members of the Legislative council. They have early made use of their majority to defeat the officials on the resettlement policy and serve the triumph of their own views. But they have still to show that they realise the effect of their decision by making proposals sound and feasible which will counteract the possible adverse effect of their decision on the financial position of the Presidency. The non-officials have won an important victory.

victory. They now have to prove that they know how to follow up that victory by sound statesmanship. For there is no burking the fact that behind the proposals contained in the resolution are for reaching designs affecting fundamentally the land revenue policy of the Government.

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50. 22-2-1921.

THE MADRAS COUNCIL.

The student of Local Politics who has followed the debate in the Legislative councul during the past week will have noted that the inauguration of the new body has brought about a number of interesting charges, not only in the tone of the speeches and the relationship of the various interests represented these have come about in the normal course of things and were forseen from the beginning of the Reform scheme but in the attitude of a considerable body of non-official Members towards matters, which render the old regime ~~bore~~ have always led to acute disagreement between the official and popular parties in the House. Much of what has been done in Madras we see reflected. ~~tk~~ in the proceedings of other legislative bodies in the country there is the same demand for more pay and in the subordinate services the same careless prodigality in voitng resolutions, heedless of the warnings of the Finance Member that to carry them out would bring the treasuy to bankruptcy. But behind the natural excumberance of the newly emancipated we have had glimpses of something ~~none~~ more substantial the beginnings, as we are glad to believe, of a capacity to deal with actual facts, and a determination to be rid of the old shibbeleths that would subordinate every issue to political expediency.

What we may call the new spirit was very apparent in two of the resolutions discussed last week relating to the election of Distirict Board Presidents and to the seperation of Judicial and executive functions.b ~~Th~~ Both have been subjects of hot debate for years past, and when ever either has been made the subject of a division of the House of the elected Party has always voted unanimously in favour of a reversal of Government policy. The debate on the "election as nomination.

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resolution in the council last week was note worthy for the striking change which has shown to have taken place in the views of the majority of the elected members. Stalwarts of the old Party who demanded that the privilege of nomination should be abandoned and the right of election granted to every Board were swamped by the new party which since the portfolio of local self Government has been put in charge of one of its own men, have come to see the wisdom of the bureaucrat in his striving after effeciency coupled with progress. Theoritically a system of ministerial nomination should be as repugnant to the true democrat as the selection of a President by Government, Practically it has its advantages, and we are glad that these are not to be sacrificed.

In regard to the seperation of judicial from executive functions, the change of front was just as startling, but we suspect that it was brought about by Party considerations rather than by a now general recognition of the expediency of the policy hitherto pursued by the executive. In principle the compling of the two functions, those of the Policemen and the Magistrate the accuser and the Judge in the same officer, is wrong and incapable of justification. That it has in practice worked satisfactorily for many years is testimony of the fair mindedness and justice with which district officers have discharged those functions, Government have never deneid the weakness of the system and the need for ending it. That very little has been done is due to a variety of reasons, chiefly the expenses involved and the difficulty of finding men to take up the large number of new offices which seperation would involve. Non official opinion has been strongly in favour of immediate action, at whatever cost, we confess, therefore, that the tone of last week's debate on the subject has caused surprise and has excited much speculation as to the root cause from which the action of the majority sprang. If it

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was the growing realisation that the ~~magistxx~~ magnitude of the proposed change is such as to make ~~contious~~ cautious progress the only safe cause and confidence that the people's Ministers will ensure the speedy attainment of ~~and~~ the end in view then the new council may fairly claim that its vote on the resolution was dictated by sound ~~course~~ sense and a broadminded readiness to recognise the difficulties of immediate and drastic change. If party expediency influenced the result, if members voted as they did be cause it seemed to them better to leave things as they are in the hands of an authority which may be persuaded to stretch a point infavour of communal representation when the price to be paid in lowered effeciency is not too high than the change of ~~peart~~ heart is not too so great as we hoped. But there is no reason yet to doubt that time and experience will bring it about.

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52. 28-2-1921.

HARTAL AGAINST ARREST OF KALIFAT MOVEMENT LEADERS.

A public meeting was held yesterday evening on the Triplicane beach to express sympathy with Mr. Yakub Hassan and others who were ~~non~~ now in Jail at Cannan~~ghat~~ore. Hartal was observed during the day and with the exception of a few shopes practically all bazzars were closed. In the evening several processions came to the beach charting verses from Koran.

The meeting was presided by Mr. C.Vijayaraghava chariar the President of the Indian National Congress. The chairman said that they had a very sad duty to perform that evening. Four of their prominent patriots, loyal to the Congress and loyal to the country, were in jail in the west ~~cramp~~ coast. They were ~~loyal to the country were in jail~~ lodged there by the ~~by the~~ District Magistrate of Malabar. God alone knew why. He acted or purported to act under the law relating to the maintainance of public peace. The chairman differed from the eminent legal authorities whether belonging to Government or outside in regard to the action of the district Magistrate of Malabar. The whole action was in his opinion altogether unwarranted by Law and the imprisonment of these four patriots was what was techincally known as false imprisonment to which they were not liable for any misconduct for which the law of the land repressive as it was, could consign them to jail. Yakub Hasan and others were carrying out nothing but congress propaganda which invariably meant that no violence if any kind was to be used on the other hand they were pledged to suffer any violence to which they might be exposed in the carrying out of their propaganda, and that was non violent non-co-operation.

It was absurd to suppose that Mr. Thomas of Malabar, did not know that the carrying out of this propaganda meant no harm to anybody no injury or annoyance. He looked over and over again into the materials available to the public to find by what road Mr.Thomas care to the conclusion that such a propaganda was brought with danger to public peace but it

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passed his understanding Mr.Thomas had told them that Moplahs were easily inflammable, but he had not told them how addressing them on the question of the Khilafat or Swaraj or both would tend to the breach of Public peace. In his opinion, the order was illegal ~~and (ultervires.)~~ He wondered why H.E. the Governor had not ordered the release of these men. Their duty was to record their appreciation of the imprisoned men's conduct and to thank them for the service they were doing for the country and to invite the attention of the country to the situation and tell them not to be alarmed.

Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar then moved the following resolutions:- "The people of Madras in this meeting ~~in this meeting~~ assembled ——— give emphatic expression to the deep and universal conviction that the application of the Criminal Procedure code relating to the prevention of apprehended breaches of peace to our esteemed brethern Messrs yakub Hasan Madhavan Nair, Gopala Menon and Mohideen Kaya, as well as their arrest under colour of such proceedings is an unlawful and unscrupulous use of the law".

"This meeting expresses its high appreciation of the namely conduct of our brethern when suddenly confronted with a situation calaculated to overawe people and tender their grateful thanks and congratulations to them and their families, for their cleenful, courageous submission to the unminded and continued suffering."

"This meeting resolves to appeal on this occasion to the men and women of our country not to be alarmed by such proceedings of the authorities, but, on the other hand, to redouble their efforts for the speedy organisation of the country in order to carryout the resolutions of the National Congress.

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Mr.T.Prakasam said that the last time they met to consider the conduct of Mr.Thomas they did not know anything about his own bitings to the Government, the advice which he had sought for from the Government and other people through the Government. They were now met to consider the position of Mr.Thomas, the circumstances, which intuced him to the step which he had taken with the regard to their respected leaders Sri P.Theagarajachetti had stated in the legislative council that he had known Mr.Yakub Hasan for a long time and his temperament and he was surprised that Mr.Thomas action was not drastic enough. The motion had been talked out and no decision had been arrived at Mr.Yakub Hasan and others counted jail because they thought that according to their conscience most unrighteous and unjustifiable orders were passed by the District Magistrate of Malabar.

The Chairman in bringing proceedings to a close. Said that the whole correspondence, published and which passed between the Government and District Magistrate of Malabar and the papers connected with the order conclusively showed that this was a more intended to scoth the movement stated by the Indian National Congress. It was a movement avowedly set for foot by Mr. Thomas and more or less rashly, carelessly or intentionally sanctioned by the Government of Madras.

The resolutions were carried.

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52a. 1-3-1921.

A PLEA FOR HONESTY.

Did we not know Mr.V.Vijayaraghavachari for a sincere man for one who usually speak with a sense of conviction we could be inclined to think that he was speaking with his tongue in his cheek when he addressed the meeting on the Madras beach on Sunday. We do not refer to his statement of his own private opinion regarding the legality of the action taken by the District judge in proceeding against Mr.Yakub Hasan and others. Each person we recognise has a perfect right of his own opinion on that subject and to persuade others if he can to accept his view. It is true that under the present system of conducting congress meetings the opinion of a leader is regarded as law by many of his followers and in that sense the expression of an opinion by such as man as Vijayaragavachari who is also a lawyer of repute, does carry more weight then it should and would do under ordinary circumstances. It is however a matter for those who heard him to decide whether they will accept Mr.Cahri's opinion on the legality of District Magistrates action or that of the Government bearing in mind as they should do that were there no differences of opinion on the administration and interpretation of the law our courts would not be so crowded with litigants and their counsel as they now are.

We do protest however against the suggestion contained in the remark:-- "Though Mr.Thomas has told us that the Moplahs are easily inflamable he has not told us how addressing them (the Moplahs) on the question of the Khalifat or Swaraj, or both would tend to a break of the public peace". Does Mr.Vijayaragavachari really want us to believe that in his opinion ordent speeches to easily roused people on subjects closely connected with their religion would not tend to a breach of public peace? We do not think he can. We refer to believe that the enthusiasm of the moment carried him away and made his forget the teaching of history. Did MaRK Antony speak of violence when he addressed his Roman friends and countrymen upto the assassination

of Julius Ceasar? No! he continually claimed against violence. He was for the time being an opostle of non-violence on his words if not in his heart. ~~of non-violence in his words if not in~~ Let me not stir you up to such a sudden flood of meeting. He pleads when the populace stood for revenge. But what was the effect of his words. An uprising against those who had mendered his friend Julius Ceasor. And so it might have been down in Calicut. The conditions there were men now favourable to disorder than when Antony addressed the Romans. That crowd was at first hostile to him and his case; In Malabar there were cleraely many partisians the air was already electrified with subdred stife. Men were attacking men not less ruthelessly because their violence was not physical. People was and still are being persuaded because they do not agree with the gospel which Mr.YakubHasan and his followers went to preach. As this is being written a message come to hand of the sentencing of our Moplahs to prison for forcing people to observe a hartal for preventing persons from using Public wells and entering Mosques. In such as atmosphere inherent with suppressed forces the speeches of Mr.Yakub Hasan and his collegues would have been as a spark in a gas charged chamber. All the suppressed exitements might and very probably would have broken out in open violence. None but these who publicly supported the Khalifat movement would have been safe. We emphasise the Khalifat aspect of the nonco-operation movement in this connection because we think that this is the only one which counts in the west coast districts Swaraj is we are convinced a very secondary consideration in the Moplah mind. And it is this religious aspect which we contend has not apparently been seriously considered by Mr.Chain. He has failed to consider the effect of the Khalifat propaganda on minds to which religion is a paramount consideration on people whose adherence to their faith is fanatic in intensity,

Madras is not named by their action. Sunday's meeting was no indication the people's feelings. This always easy to get a large crowd together on the beach especially on Sunday, a day when the ~~ch~~beach is normally crowded. It is easy to say that the resolutions were passed especially when as we well know but very few of those present can have heard the speeches and fewer still knew exactly what the transfer was about. Madras has shown that she is too sensible to her own interests to adopt the non-co-operation creed. All that we ask is that those who special to her peoples thereon shall be honest in this speeches, shall not attempt to be little a danger which they must known in their heart of hearts to be a very real to peace and good order.

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53. 1-3-1921.

COUNTER - PROPAGANDA. (Editorial Notes).

A message tells us that aeroplanes circled over a meeting addressed by Mr.Gandhi and his followers on Sunday and dropped copies of H.R.H. the Duke of Cannaught's speech in English and the vernacular. It was a decidedly good more on the part of the authorities; For not only is the Duke's speech a strong antidote to much of the prison poured out as such non-co-operation meetings, but the mere fact that the aeroplenes were overhead must have diverted the attention of the crowd and greatly lessened the impression caused by the non-co-operator's speeches. It is to be hoped that other authorities will not be less resourceful in meeting the non-co-operation propaganda. The best way to fight it is we are convinced by frequent virtuation of the British attitude towards India so finely state, In H.M the King Emperor's message and the Duke's speech and a CONSTANT REAFFIRMATION OF ALL THE Rights and priveleges which the Reforms and it confers on the Indian people. The non-coperators find that the most fruitful ground for their propaganda, is the ignorance of the people as to the real meaning of the Reforms we would therefore, suggest that simply written leaflets be drawn up comparing the post Reforms and pre Reforms conditions in India demonstrating the administration and emphasising the directions in which responsibility has been transfered to Indian representatives. There are we are convinced hundreds of thousands of Indian who are yet ignorant of the changes which have taken place despite the good work of the various publicity Bureaux. It is in the interest all Indians and Britishers alike that this ignorance should be renouned and we strongly urge the carrying

propaganda to this end. Pictorial leaflets, lantern lecturers and above all, the Cinematograph, should be made use of in order that the people should all know to the full their new privileges and, not less, their new responsibilities. With the masses in possession of that knowledge, we could face with equanimity the most intensive propaganda of the antiReforms Party.

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54. 14-3-1921.

FIGHT IT!! (Non-co-operation)

The proceedings of the Madras Legislative Council, judged by the utterances of popular representatives, bear increasing evidence of a decided charge in the angle of vision taking place in the Presidency notwithstanding the activities of non-co-operators. The Value of the note is coming to be realised translateable as it is into immediate and practical action and calculated to promote the moral and material wellbeing of the mass of the electorate. That this would be made the primary concern of the Legislative council on which there is now an assured preponderence of mofussil representatives, will be apparent, even to the cursory reader of the debates in the reformed council.

It is clear that the new councillors, as a body are firm bilievers in the practical wisdom of co-operation but the recent development in the activities of non-co-operators and their attempt to tamper with the village population by establishing organisations for propaganda in rural areas make it obligatory on the leaders of the community to counteract that development practically. Surely it is no longer wise for than to remain indifferent to the activities of the enemies to all social and political order. "Propaganda and demonstrations in the cause of non-co-operation must be met by counter demonstrations and propaganda." The number of on the side of Law and order is unquestionably overwheliming and it is the duty of all who have in view the progress of the country sound and constructive lines not to allow the insidious poison of non-co-operation to spread and corrupt the body politic.

Counter propaganda should begun forthwith and carried on an organised basis on the lines of team work. Not that individual politicians and scattered political associations actuated by same counsels and considerations of practical widdom have

not in the past sounded a note of warning against non-co-operation and passive resistance but no organised counter propaganda has yet been inaugurated. We think that the Legislative council should take upon it self the work of such organisation throughout the Presidency. It is undoubted that not only the party in power but all friends of order and progress in the council have the support of the country behind them. The Members of the council should lose no time in launching this urgent work and to this and should before they disperse from Madras meet unofficially and discuss practical lines of work.

Propaganda work may fittingly be inaugurated by an open air demonstration in Madras attended by the 125 Members of the Council to give a definite and unmistakable lead to the movement. The Premier corporation in the Presidency presided over by ~~by~~ the return Non-Brhamin leader Sir P.Theagraaya Chetty, should be invited to join and reinforce this demonstration. Attempts would likely be made by the non-co-operators to counter this movement. But the country at large would be in no doubt as to which of these two parties was its real friend. Once the movement was inaugurated in the city, Members of the Legislative Council from every district ought to keep up the work in their districts carrying the movement to Taluq headquarters and to the villages.

In this laudable work they will have behind them or ought ~~t~~ to have behind them or ~~ought to have~~ the support of the best elements in the community. Our council Members are no longer irresponsible politicians beating the air but have power behind them for practical work which has been placed in their hands by popular notes. Municipal councillors, members of the Local Boards in fact every servant of the transferred departments throughout the country should consider its as part of official duty to

pronote this movement which is by no means a movement of Party Politics but is conceived in the interests of order and progress so essential to political developments on an enduring basis.

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55. 15-3-1921.

HOW TO FIGHT IT. (Non-co-operation Movement)

Those fighting non-co-operation must carry on their campaign systamatically and persistantly. There must be no break in the attack. They must be for ever active. When not actually engaged in battle with their adversary, they must be preparing for attack by marshalling their forces, accumulating their mentions training their germs and undermining by persistent setting their enemies stronghold. This stronghold is built of falsehoods and misrepresentation. The most powerful weapon against it is truth. Its walls can not withstand a bambardment by well marshall facts. Its defenders will use every possible means to depend it. They will darken the air with clouds of misrepresentation they will send for the streams of the poison gas of falsehood they will explode views of slander and send fussilades of misleading catchworks at the heads of the attackers. But armed with truth protected by facts the attackers will be able to carry out their assault successfully.

They know that their existence depends on the continuance of the masses in ignorance. Once that ignorance is dispelled their cause will be lost.

It is therefore the duty of all those when have the interests of the country at heart who see, as all real patriots must see in the activities of the non-co-operators a menace to their country to do all they can to dispel the common ignorance. The best way to do this is to make known to the people the thousands of our towns the hundreds in their villages the tents scattered about the country side the real meaning of the reforms. Tell the people how great a power they have transferred to the people through the electors and their representatives in the legislative Council.

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The non co-operators have no constructive propasal beyond a daily spell at the spinning wheel. The programme is essentially a destructive one. They side to destroy the Government; they wish to kill the Reforms to ruin our boys and girls by stopping their education and by depriving their of their schools. Non-Co-operators depend solely on the discontent which lives in all men for their success. They faster on the popular grievances their the popular resentment due to causes, real and fancied, connected with the old buracuracy. They say nothing about the powers which the reforms have conferrred on the People.

It is not their policy to do so. It is their policy to doso. It is their policy to wide the knowledge of these powers from the people to be little their importance to deny that the Reforms have actually conferred responsibility on the pegue. It is the duty of all true patriots to make these powers privilages, and responsibilities known to the masses, to lift the vail which the non-co-operators have thrown over the priveleges conferred by the Reforms; Be they Moderates liberals progressives or Democrates. Moderate Brahimins or non-Brahimins patriotic Indians must take up the work of enlightening the people . In the Reforms they have a splendid weapon and they must decide to use it with unswering will and unceasing activity.

The non-co-operators untireing in their efforts to defeat the Reforms have succeeded in misleading many thousands and instilling into their minds the poison of hatred. It is not a case of good cause winning because none other is presented to the people. Moreover the non-co-operators have made non-co-operation ~~fashionable~~. Ignorance has been the futile soil in which the non-co-opertors have sown their weeds.

It is for Indians to enlighten the masses ~~to enlighten the masses~~ to point out the truth to them. Left the non-official members of the council state the campaign by a huge demonstration in Madras. It will inspire them for their more parsual work in

the constituencies but let them not blind themselves to the fact that the fight is one in which individiaul effort is going to be the deciding factor. All right thinking Indian must take up the work. Their country's contentment and prosperity depend on their efforts and though the fight may be hard at first their forces will increase for we are convinced that the average Indian once the truth is told him will have little to do with the revolutionaries. "So arms" then, and battle for truth and the nation's glory;

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56. 17-3-1921.

U.P.GOVERNMENT'S COMMUNIQUE.

"It is becoming increasingly clear from experience that, if successful it must in the end lead to anarchy." These words are taken from a communique issued by the Government of U.P. Government giving their views on the non-co-operation moement. Never did ~~an~~ unofficial document speak ~~none~~ more truthfully open political movement. There is but one outcome of the non-co-operation movement should it succeed and that is anarchy. It is movement founded on calumny and falsehood it lines by misrepresenting the true nearing of the country's laws by willfying those who oppose it, by menacing their existence through boycott and intimidation. Under the ~~cloth~~ cloak of nonviolence it employs the form of terrorism. It prays on the minds of the people, and instills fear into peaceable citizens so that many men who hate the ideas of the non-co-operators are afraid to speak their mind ~~best~~ lest they and their wives, and children should suffer. Men who are directly opposed to non-co-operation are afraid to attend ~~to attend~~ me tings at which that opposition is to be voiced because they anticipate personal violence. What does all these mean. It means that the forces of anarchy are already being let loose on a peaceable land. The U.P Government do not exaggerate when they stigmatise non-co-operation as frankly revolutionary and ~~anarctical~~. anarchical.

We donot wish disguise the fact that those who join in the campaign must be prepared to meet the active opposition.

The U.P.Government declares that it intends to encourage all its officials to declare themselves openly and ~~a~~ actively against non-co-operations. We want the Government of Madras to issue a similar ~~of~~ proclamation. The non-co-operator movements not a political movement. It is a revolutionary movement and the Govermment should see that there is nothing to hinder those who would fight the revolutionaries. We want the Government

-. to help the people to fight non-co-operation stimulating those of its officers who are actives in the campaign.

The second example is the meeting organised by a public sprited landlord in North Malabar on Sunday last at which speakers showed to their assaulted countrymen the falseness and dangers of the non-co-operation movement. We want many more such meetings.

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57. 18-3-1921.

YE CANNOT SERVE TWO MASTERS.

"Non co-operation is dying; why should I concern myself with that which is doomed? This is a remark with which, in some quarters, our call for definite action against non-co-operation has been met. We would however, warn all who have the interests of India at heart not to be misled into this false attitude. Non Co-operation may be dying but so malignant is it that there can be no freedom from danger till it is quite dead. Let us not deceive ourselves because for the time being it is less apparent, less potent than a short while ago because its head is busied by the colours administrated to it in the success of our Reformed councils and the Duke of Connaught's visit.

The most powerful reason why all ture patriots should range themselves on the side of the anti-non-co-operation party is to be found in the effect of their action on the masses of the country. If the crowds in the villages and towns see that their better educated fellow countrymen make no attempt to meet the arguments, ~~expose the falsehoods and to meet the arguments~~, expose the faseehoods and answer the calumny of the non-co-operators they will who can blame them? Conclude that the non-co-operators case is unanswerable. And that it is in the smaller towns and villages that the non-co-operators are most active; - - - -
It is in the streets of our towns and villages that we have to fight non-co-operation. The battle field is not the Press nor the Legislative Council. It is the constituencies and the combat is one in which the individual counts more than the organisation. The Press and the Party can guide and inspire the combatants but they cannot fight the battle for them. They may help but they cannot replace the individual.

This being so may patriotic who fails to take his proper share in the fight is a defaulter- - - - - He who sits at Home

and declares that, because be thinks the non-co-operation movement is dying, he sees no reason why he should ~~best~~ bestir himself is false to the interests of his country etc. He is betraying this a trust. He is helping the enemy. He who is not against the non-co-operation is with it. He is aiding the ~~every~~ enemy in his apathy, he is attempting consciously or unconcisously to serve two masters. The patriot who is contend to sit at home lessons the forces of law and order, he reduces the task of the ~~xxxxx~~ enemy.

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58. 19-3-1921.

OUR APPEAL.

Impelled by a sense of public duty, we have this week endeavoured to arouse all true towers of India to the need for waging unrelating war on non-co-operation--- It requires no very discerning mind to see that the only out come and a propaganda which has as its object disobedience of the law and the one throw of the lawfully constituted Government of the country must be anarchy and revolution. We have called on the legislators to organise an anti-co-opeation propaganda throughout. We have appealed to the opponents of non-co-operation throughout the country not to be intimidated by the non-co-operation threats of boycott and worse, but to show by their example that he who stands up for trueth and justice will ever have is his service all the forces of law and order.

In conducting this campaign we have bear gratified to find how justly we have interpreted the views of many of our readers. This we think is one of the most hopeful signs of the time. It is not the educated thoughtful man who has rejected its proposals longago , but the villagers, the masses in our towns and the inexperienced youths, who mistake high sounding phrases for good sense who need to be enlightened to the dangers of listening to the specious promises, falsehoods and deliberate misrepresentations of the non-co-operators.

We want our councillors who are so quite fitted to undertake this work of enlightenment and who know the value of reforms to tell it to the people in the villages. Moreover we want a public affirmation of then opposition to non-co-operation such affirmation is quite necessary at this put out juncture. Fortified by a

resolution in the coming sessions of the council Members would go to their constituencies to wage unremitting war on the forces of anarchy and disorder.

Let us not ~~is~~ be-little the danger because at the moment the ~~every~~ enemy is working away from the time light. Should we do so, should the forces of anarchy and revolution triumph and the country ~~the~~ be plunged into disorder with its accompaniment of blood-shed and wide-spread distress, we cannot ~~they~~ escape ~~the~~ our share of the blame.

The government are no longer a bureacuracy. It is useless to leaders to seek to throw the blame for action or inaction on the Government. The responsibility rests on all and if at this critical juncture in the affairs of the country, Members and Public ~~xxx~~ men fail to lead the fight against disorder they, and not the Government as such will be to blame for whatever follows.

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59. 21-3-1921.

NONCOOPERATION AND THE CENSUS.

The elements of the non-co-operation theory which are self destructive of Nationalist this and subversive of the better interests of India, are many and various and a views example has been brought to the light by the recent prosecution under the terms of the census act of certain worthy non-co-operators who esteemed it their duty to place obstacles in the way of those officers entrusted with the dicennial emuneration. Sunday nothing, ~~with the~~ could be so silly or so short sighted. So boycott Municipal Councillors till they resign their office is foolish enough, there will never be a lack of some one to accept the dignity and the only result is that the public, the Indian Public will be served by bad councillors instead of good. But the opposition to the census seems even more follishly inept. The ~~talking~~ taking of a count of heads every ten years is duty which falls to the lot of the Government of India alongs with other duties it involves an immensity of labour and annoyance and some as a collection of material for those interested in India's progress, welfare, the resulting records are not of vital importance.

Census occur at intervals of ten years; a similar interval is allowed by the Montague Chemhsford Reforms for the review of the existing political situation, it is therefore the accepted period within which charges will be come manifest. Now it is the contention of the Progressive Party in India that within the last ten years since the Census of 1911 was taken, the character of Indian life has been revolutionised. If the forth coming Census Reports are to have any real malidity they must

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show whether such a contention is true or false. They will no doubt be able to set forth just what progress has been made in education, justxhaxe how fxar ideas of modera social reform can be said to have permeated into the less conspicuţous and those inarticulate sections of the community. Above all they will be able to tell us how far that modern spirit, that internal consciousness, that enormously enhanced santiment of self respect which have all been endangered by the war, they will be able to i inform us how far all these more really gone. Those at Home who are interested in India and her struggles will turn to such reports as these and will find there the confirmation of the political outcry theyn have been seeking.

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60. 22-3-1921.

W H Y.?

We have always held that the success of a line of action is to be judged largely by the curiosity which it arouses. Judged from this standpoint our anti-non-co-operation campaign may be said to have achieved notable success. "Why" asks "New India " has the Madras Mail suddenly become so clamant as non-co-operation and "Justice" echoing the tone if not the words, of a correspondent asks. What has the Madras Mail has doing all along? Answering the questions in intense order we declare that the Madras Mail has consistently opposed all movements which we considered antagonistic to the best interests of India. When the extreme Home Rule Party was attempting to rouse the country against its rulers we exposed the dangers of its methods and policy. When the social and commercial boycott movements were being advocated by the then extremists we deprecated the racial bitterness which their advocates were fostering. And so down to the present day, the Madras Mail has consistenly sought to warn India against those extreme causes of action which must in the long run lead to disaster and has sought to guide her into the paths of ordered and assured progress.

And now let us answer the other question. The Madras Mail has now become clamant on non-co-operation because we feel that that movement has now become a serious menace to the continued preservation of law and order in India. So long as non-co-operation was a theme for platform orators whether on Madras beach or in the congress and for fulminations in the extremist Press, it did not in our views present a great danger to the peace of the country Now that its advocates are at work among the masses the

illiterate millions in the towsn and villages of India active counter propaganda is imperative.] In short, while the oposttes of non-co-operation preached their gospel in the line light we considerd and still consider that its defects were so obvious as to need no demonstrating. But now that the non-co-operators are carrying on their progpaganda away from the fierce light of publicity, and the intellecutal gloom prevailing in our villages and the ~~member~~ ~~humble~~ humbler quarters of our towns, the time has come for all ture patriots to expose them. We have not called on men and women Indias and Europeans, Brahmins and non-Brahmins to fight non-co-operation as a policy. That, we deem is unnecessary. We have called on them to take a part in defeating the attempts of the non-co-operators to spread their pervious doctrine among the masses to expose their falsehoods to answer their mis-representations to place the Reforms before the people in their true light and to explain to the masses the rights and privilages which have now been conferred on them.

Non-co-operation as a policy could not ~~like~~ live for a day were it not bolstered up with an elaborate fabric of lies averse and misrepresentation. We have to destroy and not to defeat the fabric. We have to further build up a force of counter propagandists which will be for ever ~~remedy~~ ready to combat the mischievous activities of the non-co-operators.

In the formation of that force all can help. Independent witnesses tell us that non-co-operation is spreading in the mofussil because while its advocates are busy no one has yet thought it worth while to start a Counter campaign. Let us not there deceive ourselves. Non-co-operation is not dead in Madras. It is not ~~every~~ even dying. It has merely left the ~~true~~ lime light to work in the darkness. It no longer attackes the superstructure of our national edifice, it is digging at the foundations . If we wish to save India

from disorder to help her to nation/hood to some her from the terrors of internecine stife we must organise, and by counter activity nullify their activities.

In our campaign we take our stand as we have always taken it on the grounds of Indias' welfare. We are for no Party. We are independent, our policy is dictated by our love of India and our desire for her ordered progress towards self Government within the British Empire. If in our pursuit of that policy we offending Party the offence is inevitable for though we seek to live at peace with all men we cannot sacrifice those principles which we hold dear. A correspondent in Justice accuse us of a slavish devotion to the Party in Power. We call on the Party in Power to do things because it is obviously the only Part which can do them. Its complexion concerns us not at all. We support the Party that makes good of India its aim.

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61. 4-4-1921.

BE NOT DECEIVED. (by non-co-operators)

Let us not decive ourselves. Non-co-operation is not yet on its death bed. There are many who would have us believe that it is. Men in high places have declared that non-co-operation is dying and that no definite action against it is necessary. We confess that even we were beginning to think that perhaps they were right. But recent non-co-operation activites show that they are deluded; Non-co-operation is not dead. It is on the contrary more virulant than ever. The non-co-operators are now busy spreading their creed among entutored masses in our villages and hamlets. In their campaign they ~~spern~~ spare no methods however despicable which may further their cause. Does any are doubt it their let him read our representatives account of the non-co-operation propaganda plays which are being performed and the other plays in which racial prejudices are played upon to provoke anti-Government feeling among the ryot population. Read too his account of the way in which they labour persistently dinning into the ears of the illiterate cultivators the falsehood that the Government work with a sinister object and have not the welfare of the people appeal.

From Erode news which supplement the report from the Circars. ~~Here non-co-operation manifests a liveliness which better causes might willing.~~ The visit of Ali-Brothers leaders of the non-co-operation movement has aroused great enthusiasm our representative tells us that anyone who attended the meeting at Erode and instead to the Tamil translation of the Ali Brother's speech would inevitably have believed that a grievous wrong was being

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perpetrated on the Mohammedan religion that great Britains policy of relgious mentality was all been keen; and that the holy shrines of the Muslims were being annexed by the land grabbing British people. He adds "One could imagine the feelings of an assembly of this sort when in the more of religion they were asked to lay down their lines for the sake of Islam and to go forth the t9 give effect to non-co-operation the very moment they left the hall".

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Let us not be decived . The Ali brothers were merely repeating at Erode what they had already said in Madras and Elsewhere. At Madras they told the people what were not vested in their political that they must be prepared to lay down ther lines.Another speaker with deliberate perseverance and initation to deceive spoke of the Indian being trampled under foot by a bureaucratic and foreign Government

We are not surprised at the falsehoods and the deliberate suppression of truth of non-co-operators. Their movement would truly be dying. But what we ask are those whose duty it is to presume law and order and those who love their country and see in the non-co-operation campaign a deliberare incitment to anarchy and revolution, going to do the counteract the effect of this bying propaganda?

. . . . . . The time has come when ever legislators must prove that they do really have at heart the welfare of the country, do really believe in the value of the Reforms. They must now prove that they do represent the majority of the people by organising that majority to fight nonc-operation. Members and government should organise public opinion against non-co-operators and their decietful propaganda. . . . . . . The people look for a definite lead. Are they look in pain?

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62. 5-4-1921.

A MUSLIM MARK ANTONY.

Mark Antony had the justification in inciting the people to rebellian he was working to ~~rig~~ right a cruel strong, to avenge a cowardly and ~~lastly~~ bastardly murder. Mohamed Ali has no such justification. Under the clack of religion he is seeking to seduce the people of India from their loyalty to the King Emperor, to spread ruin and death in a country at present peaceful and for the most part happy, a country now taking the finest steps towards the goal of complete mationhood. He ever goes so far as to suggest that those who served their king loyally in the late war were traitors to their ~~fatith,~~ faith. ~~could~~ d ~~under suggestion ever be made?~~ Could ~~found~~ fouler ideas he instilled into the people's mind? The very thought fills us with indignation, and we wonder how Indian Muslims men of martial race can ~~to break~~ tolerate such taunting against their ~~clearly~~ dearly, ~~loned~~ loved dead.

But the crime of these opostles of non-co-operation, so called non-violent does not $end here. If India should again be ranaged by the sword should her peaceful valleys flow with the blood of these slain in intervene ~~valleys flow with the blodd of those slair~~ strife, the Ali brothers will be responsible along with those who speak as they do.

Race ~~Ex~~ hatred religions prejudices all the ~~haswer~~ baser instructs of men are played upon in these speeches and appeal for help for the distressed in Asia and made the ~~baiss~~ basis for tirades against the British and their Allies. We ~~har~~ have ~~are~~ nothing to say against the passionate attachment of Muslims to their religion. They are to be admired for their fidelity. But as it was made clear there is nothing incompatible in their attachment to their faith and their loyalty to their king Emperor.

Those who now declare that this is not so are false counsillors, murmers, complainers seeking their own desires and having in view the admiration of man.

What is being done to stem the torrents of falsehood and treason this being poured out? Mohamad Ali told the youngmen of the Mohammadan volunteer crop that they should go out into the villages and educate the masses and prepared them for non-violent non-co-operation. How are the activities of these non-co-operation propaganda being met with by those who hate strife who see India now advancing as rapidly as is wise on the journey to complete self Government. The call for personal endeavour in the cause of truth and justice come to usual. This chief is aloof. It is the duty and privilage of loyal citizens to prevent such a disaster happeneing and now is the time to take action.

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63. 9-4-1921.

THE SLANDERERS.

How much longer the Indian going to tolerate the cruel ~~(slanders of the advopcates pf npn)~~ [slanders of the] slanders of the advocates of non-co-operation? Do they want the world outside India to ~~hatred~~ [truth] that they have no self respect, that they rabid agitators whose mind is ~~observed~~ [obsessed] with one idea can be with impunity, rail at his fellows, can eall them traitors and adulturers without having the words handed. Back in his teeth? In what other country in the world would thousands of people many if nost most of them having some relative in Government service, have listened unmoved to such a demandable calumny as that uttered by Mr.Gandhi on Friday evening on the Madras beach when he told the audience" when they (the whole of India) associated with a Government and supported by the policy of repression inaugurated by that Government they did not want non-co-operationists to carry on the campaign of temperance and the message of goodwill and happiness the chastity of the womenhood of India which the spinning who carried.

Mr. Gandhi apparently believes that all Indian public servants, and those Indians who do not think as he does are traitors to the women members of their own families., and is allowed to say so without being challenged though as has been said he was surrounded by men who must count many relatives the rank those thus slandered.

These slanders are considered utterances deliberate slanders of millions of loyal Indians and their womanfolk. If the people of Madras pass noticed these slanders there is no knowing to what lengths the agitators and their ignorant followers may not go in their campaign of slander.

Mr. Patro, ~~number~~ [member] of the Madras Legislative council, a true son of India, a lover of his Mother country seeks in the non-co-operation movement and its accompanying propaganda of

his misrepresentation and slander and real enemy to India's progress. He has therefore, thrown himself heart and soul into the work of organising anti-non-co-operation propaganda in his constitutency. He is setting a worthy example to his fellow councillors and to all these who love peace and good Government and hate ~~everyday~~ anarchy and revolution. The non-co-operators ~~one~~ are making use of every possible means to spread their ideas. The call comes to the people of Madras to ~~conferred~~ confound the slanderers and we believe it will not remain unhead.

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64. 11-4-1921.

THE DESTROYERS.

Unseen and unsuspected by many loyalists who look only at the fair exterion the apparent calmness of the national atmosphere, they apparent are weaking the support of India's prosperity, and destroying the contentiment of her masses. Unless their activities are countered the splendid edifice of India's greatness may be brought down in a crasp. A Minister of Bengal Government says strightly that non-co-operation is creating a sense of distrust among the people is undermining respect not only for law and order but ever for parental authority. Furter it has in many places established a tyranical suppression of the freedom of speech and action.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri once the idol of Madras extremists tells the people of India that the non-co-operators are undermining order and civil harmony; In this speaking these men are but giving expression to actual facts. The non-co-operators are destroyers. They are eating into the vital force of the nation they are destroying the ~~same~~ sense of mutual trust between her peoples, her citizens loyalty to the King Emperors their faith in the future of their Mother land, all those things which have enabled India to secure her present prominent position among the nations of the world. They are doing this at a time when India's future looks brither brighter than it ever did before. Her greatest men are working whole heartedly to make her progress along that road as rapid as possible.

How can these insidious foucus best he fought? By ~~constructiv work~~ in consturctive work in every field of national endeavour by proving to the masses the value of the Reforms by exposing the hollowness of the non-co-operator's professions and their real object the undermining of the

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nations prosperity. Tell the people that there is not a single constructive proposal in the non-co-operation platform whi which as not to be found in those of constitutional organisations and which is not obtainable in a constitutional manner. There is not a constructive element in non-co-operation, which has not been stolen from some other programme. These facts should be made known to the people. The educated and enlightened classes must make it known to the masses and ~~slowly~~ showing by s simple statements of the truth how false to the teaching of the enemy.

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65. 15-4-1921.

SPINNING FOR SWARAJ.

Those who real and been Mr. Gandhi's wonderful schemes for introducing swaraj in India by october next might well exclaim; "How wonderful are they thought which are to us ward. For truly wonderful are the thoughts of the High Priest of non-co-operation No ordinary balanced mind could produce them. They possess about them the delightful vaguness of futurist art. They can take many things accroding to the way in which they are regarded. Thus in Madras Mr.Gandhi is as harmless as a sucking dove. He depreeates violence, he warns his followers against inflantory and abusive language and crates the impression that in his ~~race~~ new programme, he intends to adopt the role of the great conciliator, the persuader of men. In Bombay however he becomes the roaring lion again. He robs the Government of the lamb's skin with which he clothed it in Madras and addresses it again in the ~~Met his topphilan~~ Mephistopherian garb which his previous speeches had made familiar. The change is a striking comment on the opinion which Mr.Gandhi holds of the two Presidencies the cleverness with which he trains his political sails. In Madras the children of the ~~sun~~ slum prefer their political food in homeopathetic doses. Not for them the strong meat. But in Bombay their political taste has been so depraned by past extremist out pourings that nothing less than the strongest of meats can appeal to their palates. They do not like the Dutch cheese which suits Madras audience. Ripe old gorgonzola is what they demand and like a good shopkeeper, the non-co-operation leader sees that they get it.

But as with cheese so with Mr.Gandhi speeches the foundation is the same. In Bombay, Mr.Gandhi said much about the new spinning wheel programme for attaining swaraj, and

seems to have extracted much money from his bearers. A ~~home~~ crore of rupees a crore of new members for the congress and 25 lakhs of spinning wheels are going to bring swaraj to India within six months. They are going in addition to satisfy the hunger of the ~~star very~~ starving millions of India. . . . . to serve the needs to the half starved.

It is all very wonderful and one wonders why Governments in the past have not thought of this way of combating fancies. Presumably because they were too same. For though beautiful, the new programme is about as futile as one would well be.

In the first place the adoption of Mr.Gandhi's scheme to boycott foreign goods would mean unemployment and starvation for many thousands of people ~~enjoyed~~ engaged in foreign trade. The adoption of charka would not save them.

But let us suppose that Mr.Gandhi is able to find 20 lakhs of people willing to spin for four rupees a month will the result of their labours suffice to keep India clothed? No, India according to the returns of 1919-20 consumed approximately ~~waxx~~ 484 million pounds of yarn. Her total production was approximately 636 millions the difference being exported. . . . . . Mr.Gandhi does not offer India the prospect of Industrial development. He wishes to see no ~~new~~ more mills errected untill India can supply her own machinery for them. And the works for making it. Indian Industry is to make bricks without ~~shraw~~ stone to make spindles out of air just as Mr.Gandhi spins his ~~of~~ Yarns.

The whole programme is so fantastically impossible that one wonders that men can be found to support it and others to treat it seriously. Such action can only be understood on the ground that Mr.Gandhi has become India's greatest entertainer. And like all audiences, India knows that she cannot hope to be amused unless she pays for her amusement and

supports the artists. The pity of it is, however, that associated with this juggler is words there are so many satellites whose aims and objects are not to entertain but to undermine, who play upon the crediabity of the masses, who seek to convince than that the illusions are real and under the guise of enissanies of a powerful force, fonent disloyalty, and try to divert the allegiance of the masses from the real authority to the false. These ensues can only be defeated by the elnightenment of the masses to the Nature of their chief that is by telling the people that what they see and hem one as unreal as the   of the performer are false.

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66. 19-4-1921.

UNMASKED.

If ever there was any doubt about the essentially violent character of non-co-operation it should be dispelled by the news which we published yesterday, describing non-co-operation activities. In one report we read that a meeting at which a Madras Minister was to be present was brought to an abrupt and as a result of the rewodism of non-co-operators determined to deprive their opponents of the right of free speech. In another report we were told that a student influenced by non-co-operation teachings was caught trying to set fire to a colleque office. And from Poona ~~cones~~ comes news of the deliberate ~~instruction~~ obstruction of important constructional work by the followers of Mr.Gandhi. In the latter in-stance opponents of the work prevented labourers from proceeding there with by lying down on the site of the building operations, and otherwise hindering the workers from performing their tasks.

In each of these cases we set the fruit of non-co-operation teachings ~~thue~~ the true character of a so called non-violent movement. In the first two instances the violence is obvious to the most biassed mind. Nobody can say with truth that the destruction of a meeting is an example of non-violence. On the contrary it is the worst form of violence the active interference with the rights of citizens a restriction of the rights of free speech. In the second instance the violence is clear and illustrates the concentable affect of pervicious non-co-operation teachings on an untutored mind. In the third case we hava a typical example of the violence of so-called non-violence. The people who lay down on the stones of the Mulshi dam and those others who prevented the work of pumping and mining were in effect guilty of just as much violence as if they had stoned the workers and in that way prevented then from doing their work. It

a man lies down in the road from proceeding he is in fact just as guilty of violence against the users as if he held them up with a pistol. It is merely a matter of degree not of kind.

In the case of road obstruction the Government through their servants the police would prevent the man from continuing his offence, so too in the case of the Mulshidam, and the public meeting, they should take steps to protect those who wish to proceed with their lawful purposes from the violence of these so called passivists. In the case and the Mulshidam, the non-co-operators or Satyagrahis as they are termed succeded in holding up all work on the dam. No Government can allow such obstruction to continue without confessing their inability to Govern. For the first duty of any Government is to resure to its citizens the right to follow their lawful avocations and to carry out their legitimate planes. More especially is it the Government's duty to do this when as in the case of the Mulshidam the work is being carrid out with the sanction of the Government. Quite recently the British Government have announced their intuation to protect workers who voluntarily remain at their posts during the threatened strike; In so doing they merely showed that they recognised one of the elementary duties of Governments to which we have referred above. The Bombay Government and the Government of India cannot do less. We should therefore, soon hear that these Governmentts had declared their intention of protecting the workers on the Mulshidam from the violent intervention of the non-co-operators.

The case of the Vellore meeting shows that Government intervention is urgently needed. It has become so common a thing nowadays for non-co-operators to break up public

meetings by violence that Governments can no longer afford to ignore the fact. Should they remain passive spectators of these proceedings they become guilty of ~~acquising~~ acquiescing in the limitations of the freedom of speech to a section of their citizens a position which no Government could take up and line. The British Government realised this some ten years ago when the position at Home had become similar to that existing now. The Government then introduced a Bill making those willfully breaking up a public meeting liable to arrest and the result was the death of obstructionist tactics India is solely in need of such an Act. She is also badly in need of a firm Government a clear ~~and~~ cut declaration of Government's intention to defend loyal citizens against the violence, passive ~~on~~ or an active of Extremist elements and definite proof by actual deeds that the intution will be carried out. There is no difference in Kind and motive between violent and non-violent non-co-operation. It is merely a question of degree of violence, and no Government worth the ~~maxx~~ name will be taken in by so called passive demonstrations which are but exhibitions of brute force under another name.

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67. 21-4-1921.

INDIA'S MEDICINE MAN.

Our title needs no explanation. There can hardly be anyone in India to whom the identity will be a mystery. There is only one person who could fill the bill even if the memberous legends being sedulously fostered about him were not as widely known as they are. Moreover, Mr.Gandhi, like his fellow medicine men of past and present times, is not ignorant of the make of advertising. Though we have not been able to ascertain the fact definitely we feel convinced that the phrase "It pays to advertise" must have orginated with an ancient medicine men who with an knowledge form of experience impressed on his pupils the importance of keeping in the time light. And he doubtless added that the best way of keeping in the time light was to persuade the people that they possessed powers beyond the average man. It did not matter that they were but ordinary folk after all. So long as they could get members of the tribe to believe that they and incidentally their daily food was assured them. The old machine man was very wise in his teaching to his followers. He aimed at the preservation of his class, and the duping of the tribesman into supplying him and then with the means of a comfortable and not too orduous life.

Mr. Gandhi has voised none of the tricks and the trade. He has refined the methods of the ancient members of his craft. He had chosen the "Khaddap" and the full box cap as the robe of his office, but he has not forgotten the value of publicity. By personal action and through the mouths of his followers he spreads far and wide the belief in his supernatural powers. He pretends like one of the minor gods come down to eath. Does he not declare that within 6 months he will bring Swaraj to India. What does it matter that six years ago he spoke in Madras of his loyalty to the British Empire. A medecine man cannot afford to be consistent. Hundreds of

simple minded folk will believe what he says, will listen to his followers tells of his wonderful powers and for hold deeds. He is worshpied as a god.

Can anyone point to any occasion when Mr.Gandhi has refused to accept honours due, by right only to a diety? We cannot expect Mr.Gandhi or his non-co-operator followers to do the fan thing by their more ignorant and credulous followers. Moderate leaders are busy destroying the fabulous edifices erected by Mr.Gandhi and his friends are showing the masses that beneath the Khaddap and the cap is but a poor, weak deluded man, overfond of publicity and power and blessed with an exceptional amount of the gift of speech.

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68. 23-4-1921.

ACCORDING TO THEIR WORK.

"And they were judged every man according their Work" In these words are to be found a terrible warning and guide to right judgement.

In the speech of Mr.Prakasan the chairman of the non-co-operation conference you will read much about the short-comings of the Reforms you will see it asserted without any evidence to support the fact that under the Reforms the country has come to a worse position. He asserts that the councils are unrepresented because no avowedly non-co-operation member sits therein as if forsooth the millions of peopel who voted during the recent elections were all foreigners.

It is refreshing to them from the unreal to the real as revealed in Mrs. Besant's speech at the Reforms conference at Calicut. Here we are given further comparisions, further descriptions of work accomplished. And they are convincing even to the man in the street. Non-co-operating speakers may want as they will there is no gain saying the solid proof of the value of the Reforms the real transfer of power to the people afforded by the council proceedings. The Reforms have not yet had a fair chance.

Compare the fruits of the Reforms and of non-co-operation, ~~and what~~ do we find? While the adherents of the one are steadily working for the nation's advancement are seeking to improve all the means whereby a nation becomes great, happy and conteneded the latter are spreading district disorder, and selfishness. The non-co-operators have so far not achieved one of their aims. Their boycott of the councils proved a farce their attempts to lure lawyers from their practice, Government

servants from their duties, school boys from their schools have failed miserably. They have constantly changed their programme to conceal their failures. They have put forward no constructive scheme of Government to replace that which they condemn. In short they are destroyers purely and simply destroyers of all that makes for harmony and peace in a nation. Compare their work with those of patriots loyally working the Reforms and devide which is the greater force for national progress. We leave the decision to our readers confidnet that they will choose aright.

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74. 24-4-1921.

INDIA AND THE DOMINIANS.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has not been idle since his arrival in England. He has been much interviewed and like a wise publicist has not resented this early desire to know his views on Imperial affairs. This anxiety of people ~~of~~ ~~Indiaxandxtheir~~ at Home to know more about the people of India and their views will we believe lead to the strengthening of the ~~time~~ tie between the two peoples. For it must be admitted that in the past the average Britisher has known and cared little about Indian affairs. Before the war the Man in the street hardly ever heard the name of this great country. But the war which proud a great world educator opened his eyes to the greatness of India and the progress of her people, and having learnt much he still wants to know more. To many men she is but a great dependancey. It is well therefore, that Mr. Srinivasa Sastri should stress India's Imperial status in his remarks to intervies. He is not satisfied with that status. But unlike Mr.Gandhi and his followers Mr.Gandhi realises that the best road to that status in the constitutional road and it is this road that he is treading.

The exclusion of Indian from the Dominions is a some point with Mr.Sastri as it is with all Indians. But we think that when he attributes this exclusion solely to racial prejudices is not quite fair. Racial prejudice may influence some colonial minds, but there is no doubt whatever that the basis of the exclusion policy is an economic one. The inhabitants of the dominions exclude the Asiatic races not because they dislike them as individuals but because they fear that with their ~~corner~~ lower standards of living they would be able to understand them in the labour market and would thus gradualy bring about a lowering of the standard of living, the raising of which has been the ~~certainly~~ century old endeavour of every European colonist.

The assertthat the issue is solely one of the

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~~xxxxx~~ Labour or race prejudice as is so often done, is wrong. The economic issue outweighs all others...... How ever much we may boast of her progress politically and industirally there is no denying the fact that the standard of living of the cumbage Indian labourer is still many years behind that of his western contemporary. . . . . . We would emphasise the that however that no good is done by much talking about racial and colour prejudice and completely ignoring the real cause, economic circumstances.

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69. 30-4-1921.

Reaping the Whirlwind.

Does anyone still doubt that murder destruction and terrorism is the inevitable fruit of the so called non-violent non-co-operation if so let him read the accounts of the lawlesness at Giridh in Bengal and at Malegaon in Bombay. There he will see ample evidence of the inevitable assult of the teachings of Mr.Gandhi and his followers. It is no revelation. It is but the fulfilment of expectations. We in common with others who love India and wish her well have never ceased from pointing out that the only harvest to be expected from Mr.Gandhi's repretensible propaganda was anarchy and revolution. Malegaon proves it. There, some of the representatives of law and order were fully mended the others were driven from the town which remaind in the hands of revolutionsts until armed police arrived. Prisoners were realeased from jail shopkeepers forced to close their shops telegraph and postal communication interrupted, and all the usual out rages of revolutionists committeed. At Giridh a police office with records was burnt the jail attacked and policemen violently assaulted. Such acts are not entirely the work unorganised rebbles. They reveal organisation revolutionary and anarchical in its purpose., and that organisation is the non-co-operation movement fostered it may be by Bolshevist agitators, Bluster and protest as they may, make a pretence of depreciating the violence of the mob as they will. . . . . . How much longer is loyal India and its Government going to tolerate their activities? Either we must destroy the forces of disorder while they are yet young and of little power or we must be prepared to reap the harvest of their activities, a whirlwind of slaughter and destruction throughout this fair land. There is no middle course one cannot treat with anarchists.

70. 4-5-1921.

THE REAL CULPRIT.

(Ottapalayam affair).

Much capital has been made by the Extremist Press out of our special correspondent's impartial account of the fracas between the Reserve Police and Congress Volunteers at Ottapalayam last week. But be it noted while praising the account for its fairness and frankness our extremist contempararies following the usual practice of their party, have taken care to divorce that which pleases them and suits their purposes from that which does not and have not hesitated, while accepting the one, to throw doubt on the other. And yet we are not afraid that descerning men will fail to see the baseness of the ruse. Our special correspondent having seen the use to which his report has been put sends us a reply to Extremist contentions which will we think go ten to convince those who may be halting between two opinions of the unscrupulous manner in which the Extremists have used an account of what was little more than a street brawl to attack the police and the Government Among the allegations which have been made in the Extremist Press is one that the Ottapalayam affair was the fruit of a wide spread. Campaign of repression inaugurated by Lord Willingdon and the Government. It is asserted that all Government servants, who as we have pointed out before are the servants of the Public have been given Carte blanche to indulge in the persecution of nonc-co-operators and are encouraged therein by their superiors. The idea is absurd on the face of it. Such persecution could only have one result. It would rouse the people against Government employees and as the Malegaon affair has shown the public servants would suffer most for they are few and the people are many.

The correspondent declares that the Reserve Police acted with admirable restraint throughout the duration of the conference. They did not approach the congress Pandal, they were not even to be seen in the vicinity there of and every precaution was taken by their offices to prevent friction between their men and the volunteers. But no such restraint was exercised over the latter. On one accasion a volunteer deliberately jostled a European Police officer but his action was treated by the latter with the contempt it deserves. - - -
The fracas was primarily due to the provocative attitude adopted by certain of the volunteers.

So contend on the evidence of a small street frcas, in which men obviously sought to average the indiginities which they conceived had been heaped on them that the Government have given public servants of all ranks caste blanche to harass a section of the popular is like contending that the people are at the mercy of a roaring lion because one of them has been bitten by a mosquito.

It is the fruit of non-co-operation teachings. It serves to show move clearly than any words the essentially violent native of this so called non-violent agitation. We have not heard any clamour for an enquiry into this out rage in the Extremist Press. The Extremists know that the only result of such an enquiry would be an out and out exposive of their blood guiltiness in the affair.

The question we would ask here is "Do Indians wish to see the Malegaon affair repeated all over India? Do they desire to be threatened and plundered, to be placed at the mercy of a mob actuated by the anarchical principles of Boleshevism?" If not they must at once organise and fight the non-co-operation movement. There is no time to be last.

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71. 9-5-1921.

DROPPING THE MASK.

"I would in a sense certainly assist the Amir ~~town~~ of Afghanistan if he waged war against the British Government" In these words ~~would~~ Mr.Gandhi answers a correspondent who questioned him on his attitude ~~towards Mr.Mahomed Ali's Erode speech and the letter's~~ towards Mr.Mahomed Ali's Eroad speech and the latter's reference to aiding an invasion ~~in pasion~~ by the Afghans. Mr.Gandhi declares only that he would assist the Amir, ~~if Gandhi declares only that he would assist the Amin~~ if he wages war against the British Government the object apparently being immeterial. It is true he adds that his assistance would be passive, that he would not encourage the raising of leviews to assist Afghanistan. But his obstruction to the British Government which in this case means the Reformed Government in India with its Indian Ministers and Indian Councils, would be active. He will tells his countrymen that it would be a crime to help the Government to resist the invader. Was there ever greater treachery committeed by one who claims to be a loyal son of India against his Motherland? To hide the obvious treachery of his conduct Mr.Gandhi warns his readers against beleiving, in what he calls the bogey of an Afghan invasion. If the danger of Afghan invasion be unreal why all this talk of willingness to assist the invaders? We do not expect consistency in Mr.Gandhi.

The fact is that Mr.Gandhi is trying to trim his suits to every wind that blows. . . . . The question which the majority of Indians have to themselves is whether by his open offer of help to the invaders be is not materialising the very menace which he declares to be but a bogey. The war like spirits of Afghanistand and Soviet Russia look up them as invtations to descard in their thousands of India's frontier

as assurances that they will meet with a hearty welcome if and when they should do so. . . . . No one knows hunger but he who has starved, and Mr.Gandhi secure in the mansions of his friends miles from the turbulant North west, guarded from harm, riding in peace and safety. . . speaking about the advantages of fasting.

We do not intend to mince words in dealing with such utterances. He is we declare a humbug. He has not even got the excuse of religious feeling such as may be said to actuate the Ali brothers. He talks of an Indo-Afghan Peace treaty being an unholy bargain against Islam. . . . . . ,.... It is an attempt to gain support for a revolutionary political creed by special allegiance to a relgious agitation with whicH Mr.Gandhi has, infact, no actual connection and to which a Hindu he may be said to be opposed. How much longer will India tolerate this ~~character~~ Charlatan who invites her neighbours to bring the horrors and terrors of modern war into her peaceful villages and towns?

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72. 10-5-1921.

GOVERNMENT SERVANTS AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

(At last.)

"Better late than ever" is a proverb with which the dilatory and their friends excusedely. It is markedly applicable to the G.O. recently published on the question of Government servants and non-co-operation. It dots the "i's" and crosses the "t's" of the Government of India resolution on the same subject. The G.O. gives all Government servants a opportunity to proclaim to the world their faith..... T e order intimidates no man. . The order should act as a corrective to hypocrasy for let it not be forgotten that an Government servant who subscribes to the non-co-operation do ine is a hypocrite a double hypocrite in that he is false bo to his employers and the faith he holds.

The Government call on all their servants to t ake in act counter propaganda to combat the spread of non-co-ope n. They do not wish their servants to convene public mee .... but they do look to them to participate in such meetings and help in every way to counteract the evil effects of an insidious propagan . Special stress is laid of any by Government on the fact that their servants should make it known to the people generally that they are prepared to protect those who are subject to indignities and persecuation because of their adherence to the principles of orderly Government and their rejection of revolutionary ideas. Given loyal endeavour in the directions referred we would soon see a decided lessening in the spread and influence of the revolutionary doctrines of non-co-operation.

Government rightly declare that they rely on the Members of the Legislative council vigorously to counteract the non-co-operation movement. Some of the councillors are suspected of having leanings towards non-co-opera n so tolerent have they been of its methods.

The order is, in ~~sharp~~ short a delated call to all representatives of the people and public opponents of non-co-operation. We trust that the call will not go unheeded. Never was it more true than it is today that those who are not for law and order are the enemies thereof.

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73. 13-5-1921.

INDIA'S SPEAKER.

India's speaker is an obhervant and far seeing man seated on his dais ~~oft~~ at the head of the Assembly chamber precluded by his office from taking any important part in the ~~debtors~~ debates be has both opportunity and time to study the performance of member and to form conclusions as to future possibilities. Mr.Whyte shows in a despatch that he has not failed to make full use of his opportunity-...... He is impossed with the quality of its personnel. He is struck by the ~~comporate~~ corporate sense of responibbility which the whole body of members has shown and has apparently been transferred from a pessimistic and wondering sceptic into a confirmed optimist......... But like Mr.Whyte, we have been agreeable surprised with the actual working of the councils. The voice of the extremist has been heard here and there. But for the most part the working ~~four~~ of our new council has been ~~karked~~ marked by a ~~mouduation~~ moderation and soberness which the most optimistic of us had hardly dared hope for. This we consider is the result partly of the new responsibility which the Reforms imposed on the elected representatives of the people and also to the wise advice with which H.R.H. the Duke of Cannaught started than on their new ~~caven of India~~ career. Mr Whyte that the progress of India under the Reforms will be so rapid that a revision of the diarchical system will be necessary long before the ten years have passed. So do we provided elected representatives continue as they have begun and moderation responsibility and sobriety continue to mark this actions ~~at~~ and colour their designs. For we must not forget that it is the essence of the Reforms that Indians should be given an opportunity to prove their fitness for a further step forward on the road to selfGovernment.

This we consider shows the wisdom of moderate Indian Politicians in their choice of constitutionalism as opposed to the revolutionary principles of the Extremists. We agree

with Mr. Whyte that non-co-operation is loosing the aid of the Indian intelligentsia. We admit however that we cannot see what use would be served by an understanding between Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi . . . . . It would be tantamount to an admission by the Viceroy that Mr. Gandhi had enourmous power over the masses. . . . . We contend that there should be no traffic with traitors whether they were the cloak of the false prophet or the lion cloth of the coole. Mr. Gandhi is not a power in India. His name is made use of to intimidation the credulous but even that source of Extremist influence is disappearing. And Mr. Gandhi himself is fast losing his popularity. Does anyone suppose that the Extremists would turn from their wild career if Mr. Gandhi made a pact with viceroy that they should do so. No, they would scorn him as they have scorned those of his predecessors who realised in time the error of their ways . The utterances of the Ali brothers prove us. So why traffic with the traitor?

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75. 27-5-1921.

REFORMS OF THE PRESS ACT.

A subject which is being much discussed in Simla just now is that of the Reform of the Press Act. This is a matter on which we are all, press and public deeply interested. Writing this subject on Feburary 24 last we urged the repeal of the Act, because we believe that a Press free from all restrictions is a more responsible press, is more jealous of its good name and takes greater care to see that its privileges are not abused by its own members. . . . . . We recognise that its countinuance on the statute book is a fruitful source of extremist outpowrings, and hold that much undeserved distrust of Government can be traced to this source. We would there, prefer to see the policy which the Supreme, Government intend to adopt towards non-co-operators adopted towards the press. The ordinary law of the country should be sufficient to meet all cases of abuse and should experience show that it is not then it must be strenghtened we are glad all those who have given evidence before the committee are agreeing that the Press should be free.

This enquiry into the Press Act is being conducted in comera but it is intended to publist a report of the proceedings. This method is a wrong one. The attack on the press act have all been public. On the platform and in the Press its administration has been assailed without ceasing and it is only right that the evidence of its, Critics before a responsible body called to adjudicate on the usefulness and the desirability of the Act should have been equally public. But the Committee on which there is a majority of Indian decided otherwise and we are compelled to await their report. Meanwhile the public is being given unofficial reports and the popular mind is being confused. [illegible]ible Government with closed doors is an innovati[illegible]l do little credit to the non-official majorit[illegible]minates all committees

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and conferences of the Central Government" remarks the writter above referred to (correspondent of "Times of India") and which his opinion we heartly agree. Much more harm is done to the Government cause by secrecy than could ever be done by publicity. The incident of the viceroy, Gandhi interviewed with its subsequent hope of unofficial and one sided reports proves this. One of these days Simla will realise, as we realised by the Allies during the war, that publicity prompt publicity not the publication of the long and verbase communiques months u after amount pays.

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76. 30-5-1921.

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER.

In the course of with reply to a Press critic Mr.Joseph ~~cohamhulain~~ Chamberlain once declared that he had heard that editors never read newspapers other than their own. Mr.Gandhi is like Mr. Chamberlain's editors. He rarely reads any journal but his own. Consequently he does not know till long afterwards what fables are being spread about him. And even then his attention has to be specially drawn to them. Whatever merits such a method may possess from an editors ~~power~~ point of view it certainly has great advantages from that of a politician. It ~~makes~~ enables him to reap all the advantages which there is to be gained it gives time for the fable to be spread broad cast throughout the country and to make those first impressions on the mass mind which are so difficult to eradicate. The subsequent denial which comes ~~living~~ limping fatteringly long afterwards, does not remove the impression though it does serve to ~~term~~ turn away criticism, To be ~~the~~ of value at all denial should follow hotfoot on assertion, but that is not Mr.Gandhi's way.

Some time ago a ~~moral~~ Moulvi proclaimed in Delhi that God had sent Mr.Gandhi as a present day reformer., or Muzakkir a term which in the Holy Koran has been applied to the Holy Prophet of Islam. Speaking in Bombay on April 6, Late ~~Laljput~~ Lala Lajpat Rai asserted that Mr.Gandhi was acting under inspiration from God received in 1921. In the current issue ~~in~~ of Young India dated May 25 nearly six weeks later Mr.Gandhi writes. I have received a cutting in which I am reported to be credited with being a messenger of God and Iam asked whether I claim to have any ~~social~~ special revelation from God. I have already dealt with the miracles attributed to me. As to this, the latest charge, I must disown it. . . . I have no special revelation of God's will". We publish this ~~di sorwal~~ disavowal because we desire about all things to be honest indealing with our opponents and it was

but a few days ago that we pointed out that Mr.Gandhi had not disawowed the claim made in his behalf regarding his ~~Drive,~~ Divine inspiration. Never the less we maintain that Mr.Gandhi's tady denial does not and cannot remove the impression caused by those who advanced the claim and though we must necessarily acquit him of endorsing it we contend that he would have given far ~~server proff~~ Surer proof of his sincerity had he made his ~~disozwowed~~ disavowal some five weeks ago.

The above is however, only are to many instances of the way in which the name of Mr.Gandhi is being made use of by Extremists. It is now many days since the exoders of coolies from the Assam tea gardens began. Day by day we receive news of the sufferings of these deluded victims of non-co-opeaation propaganda. But a careful search of the pages of Young India Mr.Gandhi's paper reveals not a word about this sad business Perhaps when the wrong has been righted by others, Mr.Gandhiji will publish a further disawowal and say "I know nothing of these things I did not authorise than". But be cannot in his wise escape the responsibility thereof. His name was the talesman which led the coolies to abadndon the security and ~~comparative~~ Co-operative affluance of the tea gardens for the roads of Chandpur. The Indian Tea Association speaks righty when it declares that unless Mr.Gandhi is prepared to disown his friends in sylphet, the Government should take steps to ensure his fulfilling the promise made by his supporters to the coolies. On him should fall the burden of providing for these unfortunate people.

What will Mr.Gandhi do? So far he has remained silent. Death and hunger are at work among the misguided coolies but Mr. Gandhi says nothing; He has a splendid opportunity to provve his fairness and sincerity to India and to the world., will be grap it? ~~Our~~ OR will ~~be~~ he follow the example of those who are seeking to throw the blame on to the shoulders of Assam la bour

employers and on to the economic crisis though which the tea industry is passing? Will he like other apologists for tea Extremist propagandists in Assam avoid facing facts? The allegations are those of ~~foolish~~ madman. They are worse they are those of ~~knowes~~ knaves and prevancators for none with the slightest knowledge of conditions in planting districts can deny that everything possible is done to make the collie happy and contended He is housed and granted free medical treatment his food is brought to him at the lowest possible cost and the young and the aged are guarded against want........Will Mr.Gandhi admit these facts and disown those who have caused so much trouble in sylphet? He is already late in dealing with the subject but if he adopts the course ~~which~~ with truth and loveof justice prompt his disawowal will yet be welcome. Better late than never" will we trust, be his guiding proverb on this occasion.

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77. 3-6-1921.

WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOUR.

Hearty congratulations to the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Venkata Reddy Naidu on his statesman like speech clearly delivered without fear and without favour the speech of a Minister who knows his own mind and who has apolicy and intend to persue it. ~~He will be severely criticised and intend presue it~~. He willbe severely criticised in certain quarters but no fair minded man will deny the sinceriety of his utterance. Mr.Naidu has not hesitated to face and deal with facts. Dealing with the foremost political question in India today the best way to attain Swaraj he states the arguments for each method and than with a wise man proceeds to deal with their effects. He has no difficulty in making out a strong case against non-co-operation methods. Dealing with the question of defence he rightly shows how helpless India would be were immediate swarja granted her. We know what the Gandhian reply to that argument will be. Non-co-operators would offer no resistence to the invader. They would non-co-operate with him, that is if he allowed than to do so, which is doubtful. But this is only one of the evils of the non-co-operation methods Constitutionalism on the other hand promises a steady advance along the road of peace and good Government to the goal of Swaraj the peace being decided by the capacities of the nation itself.

Leaving the wider circle of the All India politics Mr.Reddy Naidu spoke with admirable frankeess of those of Madras. He affirmed and we hold justly that the system of dy-narchy has been successful in Madras. There has been no conflict between councillors and Ministers. They have worked as they should work in hearty co-operation and the Presidency has we believe gained greatly in consequence. Team work is as essential in the Government as among the citizens. If success

is to be achieved, and Mr.Reddy Naidu's speech shows that in the Madras cabinet there is teadm work. It is not a case of Ministers giving way to councillors. In fine phrases the Minister for development declares that he and his Ministers recognise their responsibility to the people and are true to their constituencies maintain their independence and their judgement, keeping before them always the interests of the people. That is what ministers whould do. "Without fear and without favour" should be their motto. Mr. Venkata Reddi Naidu, with his straight talk to those high class non-Brahmins who forget their duty to their more unfortunate fellow countrymen and with false pride help to keep the depressed classes in their present condition has shown the right Spirit.

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78. 7-6-1921.

THE CLOMEN HOOF.

"It seems to me that a political movement must contain something radically unsound that sets out to paralyse the Government within a year and tails off into corrupting the manners of small boys". In these words, Mr.Macqueen I.C.S. summed up the non-co-operation movement as it has revealed itself in the Salem District. The speaker did not speak by the book. He described his own personal experience. That morning passing through a village he had been greeted with insulting remarks from children playing in the street. Indian children are not naturally rude. Like the gamings of other countries they like to have their fun and shouts at a passing car are a part thereof. But rarely are these greetings ill-natured hardly even insulting and when they are the latter a reason may usually be found. Mr.Macqueen finds the reason for the insults of these village children in the teachings of non-co-operators advocated of race hatred who have been carrying on propaganda in the village. ~~Who have been carrying on propaganda in the village.~~ In them selves such incidents are of little account but they serve as Mr.Mackqueen rightly says to show the way the wind is blowing.

Happily Mr.Macqueen is able to assure us that in the Salem district the people generally have given the non-co-operation the cold shoulder. They will have nothing to do with its ~~previous~~ pernicious schemes. They will boycott neither schools nor courts nor will they refuse to pay taxes. On the contrary they are prepared to co-operate loyally and cordially with the administration and their collection is able to report j[illegible] before he learns the district that he has found co-operation and good will everywhere and will leave with many happy memorie[s]

The action of the Salem Municipality in refusing to present an address to H.E. the Governor on the occasion of his recent visit was not representative popular feelings.

Fortunately the Salem People are blessed with a goodly share of worldly wisdom and commonssense. But there are other districts not so favoured. In them the non-co-operators have secured a long following, and the gospal of race hatred the real motive of the non-co-operation movement has gained many adherents.

Race hatred is the mainspring of all these endeavours remove it, and the movement of spinning wheel and Khadder will run down like a broken clock. Non-co-operation lives on race hatred. It has failed in everything it has arrempted to to in which the interests of Indians where directly adversely affected and now seeks to attain its objects by appeals to crude prejudices and sentiments of the masses. This is the colemn hoof of Indian politics. The Indians should decide that for their part they will choose the gentelemen way, the constitutional way not the way of N.C.O. hooligan.

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79. 1366-1921.

THE GREAT PUSH.

This month the non-co-operators plan to make a great push. They have only a few days in which to carryout their Bezwada campaign programme of collecting one crore of rupees enlisting one crore of members under the Congress honour and sitting 25 lakhs of spinning wheels at work in the country. Thier leader Mr.Gandhi in the latest ~~member~~ number of his periodical Young India we say his fitly because with the exception of one short later it is filled with his writings makes an impassioned appeal to his followers to secure the fulfilment of the programme before the month is out, of the one crore of rupees desired the amount so far obtained hardly reaches Rs. 20 lakhs. To secure the other Rs.80 lakhs he proposed that each salaried man should pay one tenth of their monthly salary; lawyers doctors merchants and the like should pay 1/10th of their net annual income properted men ~~2~~ 2½ per cent of the value of ther property and all others not less than four annas each....... There is an obvious falling away from faith in the inclusion of lawyers in the list. These men are surely out casts so far as non-co-operation is concerned because of their refusal to give up practice. To ask them for one ~~think~~ tenth of ~~are~~ an income divided from a source one has condemned is very like treatint with a denial one has sought to exercise. But consistency is not one of Mr.Gandhi's traits. He is above all an opportunist and if the lawyers are willing to forget his action in stig-natising them as parasites and send him money well and good he does not intend to lose the chance of getting their each by nost asking for it.

In order that the Bazwada programme should be accom-plished Mr-Gandhi suggests that all Congress and Khilfat workers

set apart the last ten days of June as special Congress days. He wants no speeches and no meetings for which relief we may be truley thankful but quiet house to house visits and personal convassing. This then is to be the nature of the final non-co-operation push to secure one ~~none~~ crore of rupees one more of followers and 20 lakhs of spinning wheels in operation this month. Of all the tasks the last many prove earnest because the non-co-operators in their total incude those spinning wheels which have been inoperation those spinning wheels which have been in operation long before non-co-operation was dreamt of and the use of which in college has been sedulously fostered by Governments. But our object in referring to Mr.Gandhi's appeal is notto question the possibility of the accomplishment of the programme. The fact that nearly Rs.20. lakhs have already been secured makes it quite possible that the reminder will be forthcoming. We know how these funds are obtained have falsehood. This representation social boycott hartal and the deprivation of men and women of spirit of the where with all to live are used to force timid folk into the non-co;operation ransk to give of their substance in money and goods to the non-co-operation funds. It is not that so much has been collected that surprises us, and but that the total should be so little in view of the means employed to obtain it. And we can quite see how its possible with the more direct intimidation with the greated opportunity of spreading falsehoods and mis-representating facts which the proposed honest house visits and personal canvassing suggested will afford to non-co-operate propagandists that the money and membership desired may be forthcoming.

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The Anti-non-co-operat~~xx~~ions should seek to anticipate it with a counter campaign of their own. Taking a leaft out of the book of the enemy they too should organise house to house visits calling attention to the great charges which have been effected by the Reforms. A vigorous counter propaganda should be conducted throughout the country but especially in those are as where ~~where~~ the non-co-operations are strongest. What Mr.Patro is doing in Northern circars is also ~~big~~ been done by others elsewhere. But there is room for many none workers.

No formal organisation is necessary. All citizen's young and old alike witting and able to flight non-co; operation should cinfine to meet the enemy with his own weapons.. . . . . Let us therefore meet the non co-operation great Push with one of our own being assured that if we but state the fa~~il~~cts as they are victory will be ~~own~~. Ours

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80. 20-6-1921.

TIMELY ADVICE.

If Assam planters and their collegues throughout India for that matter heed the advice so timely given by Sir William Marris we would in future be spared such sad incidents as the recent excoders of deluded coolies from Assam. Sir William Marris told the planters that they co could help the Government in dealing with persons who are stirring up ill will between the people by bringing to the notice of local officers instances in which provocative language has been used. He further suggested that the planters might take a leaf out of their adversaries book by employing regular advocates and organise rs. This is a policy which we have consistently advocated. Meet the enemy in his own ground and show how false are his statements how misleading his utterances, by answering them with proved facts. Above all bring the light of reason to bear upon the absurd claims being made by non-co-operation advocates regarding Mr.Gandhi prove to the people that far from possessing miraculous powers Mr.Gandhi is a poor week ~~week~~ man whose egotism overcomes his prudence, and who seeks to persuade himself and others by that constant repetition of the mantram "Non-violence" he can without India having to suffer the consequence of his foolish action employ methods and language which must inevitably lead to violence.

Mr.Gandhi himself provides us with ample annunition with which to fight his evil cause. His weekly "Young India" contains enough matieral for a prolonged offensive against non-co-operation In it there is ample evidence of the non-co-operators lack of power to fulfil their promises and Mr.Gandhi himself denies the possession of Super natural powers with which unscrupulous non-co-op-

non-co-operator propagandix endow him when speaking to the ignorant and which forms the basis of much of their power over credulous because uninstructed minds. The fight against non-co-operation must be waged as zealously and as persistently as the non-co-operators fight the forces of law and order. Spasrodic and halfhearted campaigning will achieve little or nothing.

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81. 22-6-1921.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri according to an inverview sent by Reuter today, says that the question that affect India is not Emperic defence, not the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, nor foreign policy but the equal rights of Indians within the Empire on an equitable settlement of which the future of India may depend. Thus seems to be rather a selfish attitude. England has need of India, it is true but India has much greater respect the British Empire, though all Indian s may not realise it. Is British protection worth nothing of India's Millions? Let us suppose for a moment that we left India to no man, for that is the only way to bring the Truths home to those who do not appreciate present blessings. Admitting that we have made mistakes, who never makes mistakes never makes anything how could the future compare with the Past? Few people would deny that India would immediately be torn with internal strife. The Hindu Muslim Pact among the Extremists is only held together by opposition to what they are pleased to regard as the common enemy. and among the Moderates an attempt to sink their differences and ripalcy, for the sake of the country as a whole, can only succeed under British guidance and stimulus. Those in the Southern India pane also to remember that the Martial races of the Punjab have not ceased to be martial, though their energies are directed into hamless channels under the British authority. But continued with this internal danger the there would, if India stood alone, be greater external dangers - dangers which are continually being lost sight of while India boasts in the security of the British Empire. Do Indians really believe that if every European left the country, Japan, Afghanistan and Russia would allow her to go on her way undisturbed? If they do, they must be ignorant of the history and character of those nations. The Honours of the war that was to end was and the formation of the League of Nations have not wrought a change of heart and a divine unselfishness among the people of the East (The

Russians as well as the other two, is an oriental until he tucks his shirt in).

It is all very well for the Mr. Srinivasa Sastri to make such insistent clause for equality within the Empire. Indians have yet to obtain their right to this day achieving equality with Western standards, as the Japanese, lay their marvellous progress during the last fifty years, have been trying to do so. For the present, India's ample reward for partnership in British Commonwealth should be the might of that organisation behind her. The troubles that result from Indiam immigration have been seen in South Africa. We do not want a repetition of that problem in other parts of the Empire. India is not like Japan, bursting its confines and outgrowing its potentialities. There are vast possibilities here still, which would make of this country, if India would only copy the enterpirse of the Japanese, a land of wealth and influnce of whic nation might be proud. England has done much to raise India's status and promote her prosperity--Indians who do not wish to go back to the primitive Gandhi desires must admit thus. It remains for Indians (the opportunity is with them) to carry on the work begun and to show that they are worthy, to rank high among the nations of the world. When their general economic level will not lower that of any country to which they go, there will be time enough to talk about equal rights within the Empire.

82.

23-6-1921.

Leader.

A WORD TO THE WISE.

The propabability of the Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's hope that Mr. Gandhi may turn his nonc-o-operation movement into some social and humanitarial channel, for example, the development of Cottage industries being fulfilled is not so remote as may at first appear. In fact, we are inclined to think that the suggestion affords Mr. Gandhi a way to save his movement from absolute failure ......It is of course of a fall for a demogogue, that from the maker of nations to the promoter of cottage industries. But Mr. Gandhi with wise provision, has prepared from the guide. .. ..

We feel that Mr. Sastri knows that Mr. Gandhi is better than most people. He obviously does not take him very seriously, realises his opportuniest character, and his extreme vanity. He clearly thinks that Mr. Gadhi would not be particular what turn his non-co-operation campaign took so long as he Mr. Gandhi retained a very prominent place in the limelight. All else is subordinate to this, and if politics fail to produce a light enough light, why then he will try something else. He is the worshipof Mr. Gandhi and Gandhism that counts most, the satisfaction of the vanity of man as is proved by his journal in a composition of which the capital "I" is surely overworked better. It is this vanity which makes this "Leader" prefer to back in the publicity of Bombay to going to the help of the romm dupes of his followers inhis own. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has given the hint; that it will be taken as very probable, and this prominent South Indian Politician willhave that inique pleasure, the fulfilment of a hope, though in this instance he hold that the hope is broadly based on a sound knowledge of the vanity of the man about whom it is expressed.

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83. 29--6--1921.

"India has not yet acquired full;dominion Status but Indians realise that they are planted firmly on the road to the acquisition of it." In those words Mr. Srinivasa Sastri summed up India's present position with Empire. They form a faithful presentation of the actual facts. India has turned the corner. She is no longer merely a dependency with a bureaucratic Government. Her factors now on the road to full nationhood, and her progress along that road has already been so substantial as to encourage the most optimistic hopes regarding the further future. In the council of the Empire, the Imperial Conference, her representatives, already possess equal status with those of the dominions. Mr. Sastri alludes to non-co-operation as one of India's troubles. This move, it is one of India's progress, a drag on her feet, retarding her progress along the road to the full nationhood which all loyal sons of India desire to see her attain. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri declares that it is India's peculiar good fortune to remain within the British Empire and to take part in the work for the realisation of the noble aims and purposes for which that Empire stands Mr. Gandhi also declares that he desires Swaraj within the Empire. But while Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, recognises that the constitutional path is the right one, Mr. Gandhi chooses revolution and lawlessness and the refusal of the revenue to his country which is the duty of every citizen. Suitable men will need no telling wich is the wisest course to pursue, and which will enable India to reach the desired goal. They will know that with nations, as with men violence serves only to hinder progress not to foster it.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri very properly dealt with two of the questions which are much of agitating the people of India at the present moment, the Khilafat question and that of equal status for Indians within the Empire. And, wisely he did not indulge in much rhetoric on the khilafat question. He did not pour out an endless stream of demands, or assert, as most agitators in India assert, that Turkey should go unpunished for her great

crime of exerting the war on the side of the Empire's and India's enemies. He contended himself with an appeal to the chivalry and tenderness of the victorious, an appeal which is likely to accomplish much more than all the blotent demands and reviled threats of the Khilafat party and other agitators in India. The second principle question touched on by Mr. Sastri was that of the equality of status of India with other citizens of the Empire in the dominions. This question, as we have pointed out before, is full of difficulties, and we confess that while we sympathise with India's aspirations, we cannot quite see how they can be successfully reconciled with the aspirations of the people of the Dominions. The compromise agreed to by Lord Sinha in 1918 by which it was agreed that each dominion and each settlement governing part of the Empire, should be free to regulate the composition of its own population by suitable immigration laws, only lessens, the difficulties by a small number. It does, of course serve to prevent this increase, since it admits that the dominions have the right to exclude Indians if they wish. But it does not get over the great economic difficulties which lies at the root of the trouble, namely that Europeans in the dominions believe that until the average Indian standard, of living appreciates more closely to their own, they cannot allow unrestricted competition between the two races, such as must result how the recognition of equality of Status, to exist.

We recognise the contention, and think that all Indians should recognise it too, and appreciate the feeling which undertakes it the feeling that it is necessary for self-preservation. It is akin to the feeling which causes Indian manufacturers to demand a tariff for India to protect Indian destinies. And in both cases, those who entertain it have evidence to have their conditions In the dominions, Indians by frugal living and thrift are able to acquire, increasing extent, on hold on the trade and Industry of the country strong and completely organised foreign industries are formidable competitors to India's young and undeveloped industries.

In both cases those affected such protection, and it is the task of statesman to decide how far that protection should extend and how the conflicting interest may best be reconciled. The Imperial Conference is to be asked to deal with this question in regard to Indians in the Dominions and we await with utmost both Mr. Sastri's resolution and the debate there on extend that whatever be the result the protoganists of Indian claims will receive a fair hearing.

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The Non-Brahmin Movement. 14 ~~R~~ 7- 1921.

The success which has attended the non-Brahman movement in this Presidency should afford non-co-operators a striking lesson of the neat strikes that can be and ane being made on the path to Swaraj by constitutional methods and by co-operation with the Government. The non-Brahmins assembled at the Conference which has just concluded its session in Minerelly were jubliant over the success which has attended th[illegible] movement. For the first time in the annuals of political assemblies in this country a Conference organised by the people, was attended by Ministers chosen from among their ranks, and entrusted with certain branches of the administrat~~ion~~ ive ~~with~~ work of the Government . Indeed it was recognised that the present Government was practically the people's Government that any attempts made to paralyse it, as the non-co-operators were endeavouring to do, would be suicided. How rapidly the non-Brahmins have advanced may be guaged from the remarks made by the Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur, P.Ramarayanigar, the Minister for Local self-government. He said that when three years ago he paid a ~~merit~~ hurried visit to Tinnevelly, t[illegible] attend the First Non-Brahmin conference he little expected that to day three non-Brahmin leaders would be occupying the three places in the Ministry of the Madras Government.

As was pointed out by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur K.Venkatreddi Naidu, Minister, they were already on the road to swaraj, the first ~~ratt~~ mile stone of which had already been reached. The non-Brahmins have pledged themselves to conbat non-co-operation and to prove

their fitness for selfgovernment by working out the first instalment of the Reforms successfully, and there is little doubt that if they continue to hold together as they have done in the past, and whole heartedly support the Ministers, Swaraj will be attained with the assistance of Great Britain within a measurable period. The great lesson to be learnt from the progress of the non-Brahmin movement, therefore, is that constitutional agitation is the correct method to be persued and that to say that swaraj can be won by means of the Spinning wheel and a crore of rupees is a foolish Assertion. The non-Brahmins by persuing a more ~~retired~~ rational and practical method, have become the party in power is the Madras Legislation council.... If Swaraj is to be attained, said one of the Ministers", it was to be attained by the non-Brahmin community".

The conc~~lad~~ing Word.

MR. Montague told Parliament that the recent exhibitiors of mob violence in India could not be directly attributed to Mr.Gandhi or the Ali Brothers. He made his statement several days aptistic Khilafat conference passed the resolutions.....and should threrefore have been aware of the violent trend of Khilafat politics. He should also have heard of the disardus caused by the picketting of liquor shops, of the threatened picketting of piece goods merchants shops, and of the growing public resentment of these activities of non co-operators. How then could be believe that Mr.Gandhi and the Ali Brothers were not responsible for the out break which had already taken place and for the increasing menace of ruther and greater disturbances in the future. If he put read the news from India he must know of the threats of revolution and of bloodshed uttered greely by the boycott pickets, and he should know, tool, on whom lies the responsibility for such utterances. We believe that he does know, but that he wishes to conceal the actual position from Parliament and the British people generally. Having called Mr.Gandhi as his friend, having repeatedly spoken of the honesty and good intentions of the non-co-operation leading, he is reluctant to reveal to the British public that this idol has feet of clay, that his favourate is working for the destruction of peace and good Government in India, and that his friend and his friend's friends are im~~peterote~~ reiterate enemies of Britain and indefatigable preachers of race hatred. Happily, however, there are men in England who know the facts, and we trust that they will not allow Mr.

Mr. ~~?pmtagi's~~ Montagu's efforts to deceive the nation to go unchallenged. India's peace is endangered, and no good purpose is served by concealing the fact. And for the danger, Mr.Gandhi and the Ali Brothers are directly responsible.

Gandhi and the English. 16 - 7 - 1921.

In the course of an open latter to "Every EnglishMaN in India published in the ~~lartest~~ latest edition of Young India", ~~xxx~~ Mr.Gandhi uses there wonds. "If you congive me credit for ~~xxxx~~ honesty". The letter is writter in the usual Gandian view ~~If~~ It repeats the charge that the present system, by which he means, apparently, the present Government and the administration is satanic, alleges that it is degrading to both Indian and Englishmen, and then asks English men to help non co-operators in the boycott of foreign cloth and in the antidrink campaign. We can picture him in the near future telling ~~on~~ an ~~andrink~~ audience that he appealed, to Englishmen to help him, and they refused, hence they must be ~~enessives~~ enemies of the country. In a second paragraph writes. Some of ~~thet~~ my Indian friends charge me with camafloge when I say we need not fate Englishman whilst we mayq detest the wickedness of a matter without hating in Jesus denounced the wikedness of the scrits and phanites but he did not hate them".

In a two ~~colour~~ Column leading article Mr.Gandhi accuses Englishmen who speak of equality of races in India in hyprocrisy. He declares that Englishmen remain in India on the strength of their bayonets and make Indians by professing equality with their lips and by maintaining behind their interchants as unassailable superiority. In another part of his paper he declare that an out regions ~~colony~~ colummy of a British court is justified. But why continue to bring forward evidence of Mr.Gandhi's race hatred propaganda? Every issue of Young India"2 proves its existence.

And yet Mr. ~~Gurworks~~ Gandhi asks Englishmen to give him credit for honesty. He will have bring much clearer evidence of a charge of ~~hpeent~~ hunt than his openletter contains if he would persuade Englishmen or Indians, that he is not ~~lyeged~~ engaged in a deliberate attempt to foster in the minds of the Indian masses a ~~txxx~~ hatred of Great Britain.

Does Mr. Gandhi wish us to believe that his consistent references to English tyranny was frequent in simation of ~~ei~~ injustice to Indians are not fall lead to similar disorder and prejudicing all chances of co-operation between Indian and Englishmen. If so, he is hugging a ~~xebtxix~~ delusion. If Gandhi wishes Englishmen to believe in his honesty let him refrain from ~~nupetirel~~ perpetual attacks on things British, let him if he wants attack a constitutional body in which Indians and Englishmen ~~xxtix~~ alike have power.

THE GREATER SUFFERERS 21 - 7-.1921.

At the present movement, Gandhii, the despotic arbiter of the nation's future is endeavouring to munch the British Greengrocis wares, and the Indian non co-operation is filled with joy there at. Some hint of what will happen may be seen in the autocratic methods which Mr,Gandhi is adopting towards Bombay liquor shopkeeprs. Mr.Gandhi insists that these unfortunate men should close their shops at once.......

The most remarkable feature of the situation in Bombay is the way in which liquor shopkeepers seem willing to concede Mr.Gandhi his autocratic powers we are told that licenses pleaded for more time", as though they were appearing before the supreme power in the land; What does this cringing to the leader of the non-co-operation movement on the part of the men who ought to possess more spirit mean? Does it mean that Bombay liquor shopkeepers are weakened and helpless, cowed by every bully who shouts at them. Or are they men, who, selling the supineness of Govern-ment, their tolerance of non-co-operation tyranny, have come to the conclusion that theonly way to secure place is to treat with the tyrant themselves. In other words, have the liquor shop dealers, and the people of Bombay generously, come to the conclusion that the Government has abdicated their authority and that power is now in hands of those who shout the landest and bluster the most? If that be the true interpretation of the pusillanimity of [illegible]or shopkeepers of Bombay, then the situ[illegible] city is grave indeed, and the for[illegible]

have won a decided victory. We trust however, that the Government of Bombay, and the Government of Bombay, and the government of India too, will soon awake to the felt that their tolerance is being interpreted as impotency and that their silence is regarded as a confession of fear. while they remain idle, the terrorists are becoming bolder and honest citizens are dispirited. Often have we heard Governments declare that violence and intimation would not be toturated. The Time has come to justly that declaration by a clear Important demonstration of the Bombay Government's determination to project landabiding citizens from terrorism, under whatever guise it masquerade.

A Poet"s Independence   26-7 - 1921.

Non-co-operators will be very angry with Sir Rabindranath Tagore when they read his statement on his attitude towards the Gandhi creed. It amounts to a declaration of independence, and in dependence is the last thing that the readers of non-co-operation desire in their followers. As was to be expected, the abstract idea of Gandhism, with its allusions to soul force, appeals to the idealistic side of the great poet, but he wisely refrains from expressing any opinion on the manner in which the Gandhi propaganda is being carried on and the ideals which Mr.Gandhi sets before his countrymen untill he knows more about them. What his opinion will be when he learns the full tite of non-co-operation intimidation and terrorism may lasly be anticipated. He will condemn the Extremists methods just as strongly as in Europe he condemned the Gandhi plan of anonsing ratial hatred, of building a wall of ratial antopathy between the East and the west, and limitting the progress of India by a policy of boycotting all things western. India's future would be far less clouded, and will steady progress to nationhood much more assured were all Indizns possessed of the courage and independence of Sir Rabindranath Tagore. He declares frankly his opinions, and though he proclaims his adminaition for a parsonality, he reserves to himself the right to close what he will of any creed offered to him. Were all men honestly to do what Sir Rabindranath Tagore intends to do, namely. Follow the dictates of his own conscience and give utterance to what be behaves to be true", we should hear nothing of such

hate ful attempts to foster race hatred, to restrict the libert of individuals by boycotts and picketting, and to coerce a nation by crippling its administration as form the substance of the non-co-operation scheme.

Formerly non-co-operators dwelt much on what they were pleased to call the slave mentality" produced in the people by the prevailing system of education. They ~~name~~ have said ~~mey~~ very little about it lately, doubtless beaause they realise as most men possessed common sense have done, that their own creed depends for its existence on the complete enslavement of the intellects of their followers. Independence of an y kind would be fated to their system, which rests on the tyranny of the few over the many, and could not live were not the supreme dictatorship of Gandhi submitted to by his adherents. Sigus of revolt are, however, apparent in many quarters. Men who have untill now been willing to be abedient slaves of the leader of non-co-operation are begiging to appreciate the fact that by so doing they have been surrendering all that makes life worth living - the liberty of the individual. Even in the Deccan, a former stronghold of Gandhism, an awakening is taking place, and a demand for greater liberty and solvoriety in methods is being heard. Now that a great Indian leader, one of the nation's idots, has declared for freedom and independence, the number of these revoluts may be expressed to grow, untill the great mass of thinking people declare that they will neither be enslaved themselves now se...

others. Then non-co-operation will die, as indent it must, if India's progress is to be peaceful and assured, and nonewill realise that though mades of travelling, as represented by political platforms, may differ, there is only one road to nationalism thheroad of constitutionalism.

<u>One Man show.</u>   30 - 7- 1921.

........India at tbe present moment is enjoying the reports of a ~~purtomence~~ performance in Karachi. The theatre was the meeting place of the All India Congress committee, and the principle actor was Mr.Gandhix. Though every effort had been taken to secure xxxxxx an andrink favourable to the performa, one or two critics had managed to secure admission, and their outspoken comments resulted in the performa retaliating with the remark that if they did not let him act as he liked, he would xxxx leave the theatre. Such conduct on the part of the performa in a one man show would be disastrous indeed, so his supporters squashed his intics, and the play continued.

But what a sad state this for the once great Indian National Congress what would her famous actors of the past, Messrs. Acme, Mehta and Gokhale and the rest, think of the present deplorable state of the institution they once adorned. Jellwe favour her high representative estate, the National Congress no longer bouses a galasay of stars xxxx she is reduced to one petty actor, who only retain his position before the footlights by the favour of servile followers, won to his side by his readiness to pander to their basest prijudices. His Chief properties are a charkaxxx and a particoloured flag, made of Khadder, while his text is a mongtorous repetition of such words as Khadder, charka, boycott Swaraj; picketting and non-violence, which last he always rettus with his tongue pro~~unventiy~~minently in his cheek. India is clearly one of the worst sufferers, from the theatre slump which is now affecting the world, and has National congress

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theatre is sorely affected. Let us hope that the intics who have been protesting against the subbist offered to the anti-drink therein, will succeed in causing the public to demand a better company, and a play more in keeping with her history than the one man bogey man farce now being played.

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A MODERN FRANKENSTERM. 1 - 8 - 1921.

Having created the monster of civil Disobedience Mr.Gandhi is now fearful of his creation like the hero of Mrs.Shelly's famous book, he already built up his monster in a spirit of curiousity, hoping, also, that it would serve as a bogyxx to frighten the constitutional authorities and Moderate Indian into conceding his extravegant demands.

.........Mr.Gandhi's present anxity to postpone the employment of civil disobedience is as we have stated, in admission that he cannot control the monster he has created. But why, instead of temporising and pleading does he not come out like a man and declare that his creation is fraughtwith great danger for India and should be immediately destroyed? The reason we think is that in the first place, he realises that he has gone too far to retract, that others are prepared dis regarding the cost, to make use of the xxx evil thing with which Mr.Gandhi values above all others. He would, it is evident, rather see India torn by civil strife than state candidly what he must know, namely, that India can never attain nationhood by the refusal of her citizens to do their duty. But now that there is a possibility of civil disobedience being changed from a mere political catchphraise such as Mr.Gandhi hoped it would remain, into a guide to conduct, loyal citizens India, Europeans and Indian alike.......It is therefore the duty of the loyal citizen, to redouble their efforts to defeat the activities of the non-co-operation propaganda.

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There is the fear, too great a tendency, to smile at Mr-Gandhi and his works. By many he is treated as a large joke,and indeed, his creed and the methods he advocates are ludicrous. Nevertheless it would be abscend to underestimate his influence for civil. Instead of laughing at him and bearing his emissenes to work uncontradicted, loyalists should devote their attention to pointing out both the folly and the danger of the policy he indrocates.
is a lethal welcome, but, to be effective, it must be so used that it may be understood by the masses. A drawing room just or a clubjoke does not reach the masses. Above all the people should be told that civil disobedience is a weapon, more dangerous to him who wield, it than to the object attacked, as the fears of the more sober leaders of congress, prove.

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<u>Do We want Bloodshed</u> 6 - 8 - 1921.

Mr.Gandhi announces that he can clearly see the time coming to him when he must refuse obedience to ~~enemy~~ every single State made law, even though there may be a certainty xxx of bloodshed" ~~Runows~~ Rumours of coming stirife, and of ~~tenonstic~~ terroristic out breakes during the next coldweather have been circulating for some days now, and taken with this latest proclamation by the head of the extremists, they demand the careful attention of all who desire the continuance of peace and order in India. For there is no concealing the fact that India is faced with the prospect of serious disorder. The rumours have said that the Extremists, it they failed to secure their way, intended to introduce into xxxxxx India all the methods with which the Sinn feiners have made Ind~~end~~ia the home of murder, robbery, and terrorism, and land where no man dares to call his mind his own. Mr.Gandhi assuming the guise of a saintly guru has steadily ~~raned~~ paved the way for the coming of the bloodshed which he now envisages with such appealing equanimity.

Happily, evidence is accumulating of the growth of public indignation and opposition to these preachers of strife. The North India newspapers contain abundant evidence of the increasing organisation. And it is noticeable that it is in the Provinces most xxxx menaced with strife that the anti-revolutionary organisations are most numerous and most active. The revolutions are preparing for ~~sxxxx~~ strife. Mr.Gandhi shows that, and it is for loyalists to make it know that should strife eventuate, they will not shrink from

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supporting the government in any measures which may have necessary to preserve or restore peace.

The Governor of Bombay has wisely uttered a solemn warning to the Extremists, that they may yet be induced to pause in their mad career. Finding that the Extremists do not know the meaning of restraint, and that, to use a popular expression, Given on inch they take an ill", he has called on them to abandon their attempts to undermine respect for law. Among the most serious is the deliberate attempt now being made throughout the country by non-co-operations and their Khilafat allies to promote indiscipline and contempt for legality.

Now that ~~xxx~~ Mr.Gandhi has lifted the veil from the future ~~xxxx~~ intentious of the Extremists, the Government of India can afford to wait no longer.

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Worth nothing 12 - 8 - 1921.

Indians have every reason to be gratified at the way in which their claims to equal treatment with other subjects of the King Emperor are gradually finding recognition in the Dominions. As today a correspondent sends a telegram which proves that even in South Africa anti-Indian Extremists are not allowed to, carry their antipathy to the point of in justice. Some months ago an election of members of the Town board was held in the town ship of stanger on the North Coast of Natal. Here the Indian voters were very numerous, and they desired to run a group of candidates in opposition to those put forward by the European Party. Indians did not stand themselves for election, but secured seven Europeans to stand on their ticket and as a result all the latter were elected. This awakened the apprehensions of the European Parties throughout Natal. There was much excited speaking about the possibility of Indians capturing the control of municipalities in nations cities, and oppressing the whites. Feelings rawhigh, as feelings very often will over parochial matters, and finally the Natal. Provincial council passed a statute entitled the Natal Township franchise ordinance designates to make a repetition of the Stranger election result impossible by providing for the elimination of Indian voters in townships. The framns of the ordinance probably thought that since it terms were practically a replica of the Natal Act passed 25 years ago with reference to the Parliamentary franchise, it would be accepted, by the crown. But they had overlooked the fact that their ordinance did not protect the vested

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interests of present Asiatic voters, with the result that serious injustice was done to those Indians already infranchised.

The general, as recorded, is that the Governor General has noted the ordinance.......Europeans in South Africa fearful of competition, may be anxious to restrict the power and numbers of Asiatics in the country, but, we believe, flow will countenance an unjust measure which seeks to deprive domiciled Indians of rights long enjoyed. Indians generally should make faceful note of the Governor General's action. It proves that there is a desire on the part of the Imperial authorities to ensure Indians in the colonies a square deed......On Indian as forming the bulk of the Asiatic immigrants, rests the task of producing the necessary claim and we trust nothing will be said in India by politicians, and others its prejudice the suggested negotiations between the South African and the Indian Governments.

Disapprove the ~~Renouns~~ Rumours

16 - 8 - 1921.

India has had many examples of the essentially violent nature of the so called non-violent non-co-operation and Khilafet movements, but, for the most, part there have been afforded by provinces other than Madras. It was abrion, however, that Madras could not altogether escape such demonstrations, and our Malabar correspondent's letter shows that they have made their appearance in the highly inflammable Moplah area. In persuit of the so called temperance compaign, Moplahs have burnt down a toddy shop and are ~~intermedating~~ intimidating owners of toddy ~~these~~ trees into preventing the tapping of these trees, hoping this was to stop the supply of liquor at its source - such methods always defeat themselves in the long run, but, in the meantime, such suffering may be caused to taffers and others engaged in a lawful profession. It behaves to prevent this interference with individual rights, and to make it clear to all who indulge there in their wrong doing will be punished. Our correspondent declares the owing to renouns of a new official policy of non-interference with agitators, Extremist activities are increasing greatly. We trust that the ~~renouns~~ rumours are not true, and that the Governor will take early steps to make this fact clear to the people.

Nothing is likely to ~~do~~ be done to aid the party if revolution than the growth of a popular belief that the Government are impotent, or, to use the word more commonly in use among the Extremists, afraid, to defend loyalists from the tyranny of non-co-operation or Khilafat gangs -

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Official supineness is all the more dangerous when it is adopted towards the wrongdoers in a community as casting inflaned by inscrupulous religions teachers as is the Moplah community . Just at present, those religious trouble makers are very busy in the Wallunouned, making it all the more necessary that the Government should declare their ~~intation~~ intention to protect citizens from into int~~ention~~ imidation and to enforce the law against all who violate it.

hy 3/7/56.

The First fruits.

To day the reports say of serious Moplah riots in Malabar. These are the first fruit of the needs of indiscipline and rebellion which khilafat and non-co-operation propagandists have been scottings far and wide throughout the district. Favoured by the heraircy and apparent indifference of the Government these seeds rapidly germinated and we now see the beginning of the great harvest of lawlessness for which the Extremists have so assiduously worked. Writing a few days ago our correspondent said that the Khilafat propaganda has been stimulated in the Walluvanad taluq as a result of the reports being spread all over the countryside that the Government had issued strict orders to take no further actions under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. He declared the Musaliars and other preachers were going about addressing gatherings on the subject of the Khalifat and Turkey and assureing the faithful that to die for the cause is to ensure entry into paradise. It does not require much imagination to appreciate the effect of such words upon a community to whose history presents a series of fanatical outbreakes due to the activities of agitators working upon the religious feelings of the people.

No one has ever had a better understanding of the Moplah mind than Mr.W.Logan. Writing in his District Mannual of Malabar' he says "The hand that controls them as a class must be firm, a[illegible] furnishment, when justly merite[illegible] be [illegible] with seriority, for leniency [illegible] is interpreted as a weakne[illegible]

but as a weakness of which advantage is to be taken at the earliest possible moment". The authorities have shown wonderful forbearance, and the result is as Mr.Logan warned us it would be, that advantage has been taken to their leniency, which to the Moplah mind is synonymous with weakness.

The present outbreak in Malabar has brought things to ahead. knowing the fanaticism of the Moplahs, the play which had been made upon their religious susceptibilities by revolutionary agitators, we do not suppose that the riping will be quickly suppressed, nor that it will be quick suppressed with out serious loss of life and much injury to public and private property. Madras is infortunate in that the first Manes of the revolution, for which Mr.Gandhi and Ali brothers and their followers have been so consistently working should have first sprang up in her midst. The Moplah outbreak is an added justification, since there is little doubt that one of the first causes of the present ebulition may be found the Brother's inflownatory speeches their coretigionists. Moreover, Justice demands that in the fight against revolution our operations should be directed as much cyanst to enemy's leaders as against.

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A Provocative speech. 27 - 8 - 1921.

Deliberately and designedly provocation, is the only possible description to be applied to the speech of Mr.Yakub Hassan at the Madras Provincial conference. It is an elobrate structure of falsehood and without misrepresentation designed to arouse the hatred and inflame the passions of those who hear and read it. Almost every ~~sunterce~~ Sentence breaths the venourous spite of one who hs been told plainly what his true character is by the authorities whom he now attacks. He first awaken the prejudice of his hearers by that favourite dodge of demagogues, the painting of a picture of India's position today in the most affighting labours, and the one of India under the Extremist regime which portrays India as a land flowing with milk and honey. He ignores, of course, the true facts which Malabar is teaching today, that India under extremist swaraj will be a land where the weak will be tyrannised over by the strong, and those who to assert their individuality will be millaged and mendered. Such is the lesson of Malabar today. Mr.Yakub Hasan would have his peoners believe that the Mophahs are a gallant race whose religious suspetibilities have been sent by the bureaucracy. He even has the andanity to claim that the Khilafet workers, to whose maligrant propaganda the present outbreak can be traced, one really magicians who have been able to turn Moplah wolves into harmless lambs. He will, we think, find few in Malabar to agree with him. We would strongly urge all who desire India to remain a land of peace and order to read the speech. It reveals the real fact of the Khilafat workers, namely, the overthrow of the Government in India and the creation of a Federation of Islamic continues in Asia. What will be the end

of such a movement? Let the Moplah rebels answer. They would reply that, if Islam be strong enough India should be forcibly converted to Islam, just as they are forcibly converting the Hindus of Ernad. Mr. Yakub Husan has, unwillingly, done India a great Service. He has pointed out the danger which confronts him in language that can not be misunderstood, and though we may be disgusted by the false hood we should not fail to heed the lesson which the speech, as a whole, conveys.

A Timely warning. 29 - 8 - 1921.

At a time when India's political atmosphere is sent with the student tones of revolutionaries, whose aim is to destroy all that has helped to make her great, it is good to hear amid the din the voice of one who preaches the Gospel of constitutionalism. Mrs Besant is no friend of bureaucracy. The most extreme revolutionary can not deny that throughout her life in India she has fought for representative and responsible government, as apposed to a bureaucracy. It is not long since that she was one of the most popular idols of the Extremists because of the vehemence of her advocacy of India's claims. Today she is denounced by the Extremist element because, a daughter of a freedom loving race, she refuses to subscribe to a creed which is tyranical in character and brutal in operation. Like all who love India truly, she seeks that India's quickest way to complete self Government is along the constitutional path. In her speech at the meetin of the National Home Rule League in Bombay today she shows how the policy if cordial cooperation with the Government of India, Central and Provincial, has already won for the Indian apart in the Government of their country which already is may near to complete Home Rule. She shows how a unitary Government already exists in Several provinces established not by Act of Parliament lent by convention, the casual British way of obtaining freedom and power.

By accepting the decisions of the elected representatives of the people was shown in the results of voting in the Legislative Assembly and council chamber, the Viceroy, Governors and councillors have

acted as though they were responsible to the elected chamber though infact they were not. This has promoted harmonious working, and produced good results. Moreover, it has given the elected representations of the people a sense of power and not less and profound responsibility to their constitutencies, which must, in the long run, serve to stabilise political conditions in India. Mrs.Besant suggests that the official element in the various Governments, central and Provincial should make a voluntary public announcement of their responsibility to their legislatures this gratifying formally their adoption of a policy already followed. She holds such a method to be preferable to seeking statutory changes of the Reforms Act as being now speedily effected. That it would be in accordance with the traditions of the British Parliament cannot be gainsiad. But we think that the official element, while doubtless proposing to continue their present policy, will be very reluctant to make the formal pronouncement desired. In the first place it would seen like a bureaucratic criticism of Parliament, since it would suggest that the reforms Act was much less liberal than it might have been. Further it would, once and for all, bear abrogation of the Government's right to act without the consent of the legislative in regard to a reserved subject a right which the Reforms Act specially bestows.

We fully recognise the nature of the arguments Mrs Besant adduces in favour of the course she suggests, but since, as she seeks to show, the continuance of the policy already adopted is virtually immitable, if wear not to have a succession

of deadlocks in the legislatures, it seems to us quite unnecessary to ask for a formal pronouncement on the subject. The precedent stands, and as British Parliamentary proceedure shows, precedent is an almost irresistable weapon in the hands of those who desire the continuance of the Primileges.

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Mrs.Besant has done well in pointing out to the people of India that, in practice, they already possess greater power than that formally conveyed by the Reforms Act, But we can not see than any good purpose is going to be served by pressing for the formal adoption of a policy already informally pursued. An agitation in this direction suggests from of a bureaucratic reaction which can not conduce to the continuance of that complete confidence and co-operation which have given birth to the precedents which Mrs.Besant so cordially approves.

We agree with Mrs.Besant in thinking that no properly elected body of Indian representatives would deprive the Government of India of the means to repress disorderand permit those who forment it. The Government of India have already revealed their faith in the Legislative assembly's willingness to co-operate in this connection by entrusting its members with the task of examining existing repressive legislation and advising the Government on the remission thereof. The readiness with which some Indian gentlemen have come for ward with offers of help to the Government of Madras and their representatives in Malabar is symptomatic of the changed spirit which the increased co-operation between government and non-officials, brought into existence by the Reforms Act, has produced.

Tanjore Political conference 31 - 8 - 1921.

THE Conference at Tanjore of Extremists says in effect. "The Moplah rebels, murders, incendioines thieves, and robbers are own frineds. And being own friends, why, they must be right. The Government and their afficers, year even those who have been murdered, are not own friends, hence they are the real culprints. Cuious reasoning, and yet how typically Extremist how in keeping withwhat India has come to expect of congress leaders and their followers?

The resolution further declares that the cause of the rising is the unsympathetic attitude of the Government and their afficers. Poor Government and poor officers, they are in indeed a deft stick. If they seek the co-operation of the Extremists, the non-co-operators and the Khilafat followers, they are told that these will have nothing to do with them. They donot want to co-operate with the Government or their officials. If they fail to work with the non-co-operations and the Khilafatists they are accused of being unsympethetic towards them, by the very messrs who reject their offers. What ever their policy, Government must be wrong for this is the first article in the Extremistered The rebel Moplahs, dessite their cowardly murderous and brutal outrages as the Congress leaders tell us, a brave race, possessing gifts of military gallantry, who have borne mathreatment with patience and xyx restraint.does Does the air ring with the cry of the Hindus ill treated and robbed by the rebels, do the lementations of the relatives of murdered Hindus call aloud for justice or those who have killed their loved

ones? the congress leaders turn to these sounds a deaf ear. It is not their Province to help the afftreted or mete out punishment to the wrongdoer. Their purpose is to malign the constitutional Government of the country and all their officers.

In their attacks or those they bate, Extremist leaders naturally ignore facts, may they do not wist to know them. Mr.S.Satyamurthi made a series of most flagrant allegations, revaling at one and the same time his ignorance and his maligment determination to bent, if he can, constitutional authority.------ But one does not expect congress leaders to admit the accuracy of facts damaging to their cause, on to admit that a warning given seven weeks ago has been fully justified by subsequent events. We do not deplore this exhibition of congress bias. We welcome it, for it will do more than else to open the eyes of the Indian people to the real return of these would be arbitus of India's destiny, men who do not scruple to distort justice to suit their own ends.

A Grave warning. 1 - 9 - 1921.

Frankness is the outstanding feature of His Excellency the Governor's speech in the Madras Legislative council to day on the grave ~~ditrotion~~ situation existing in Malabar and other parts of the Presidency. The inadequacy of the official forces in the early days of the disturbance, traceable, as we have pointed out before, directly to the mistake of the authorities in attempting to arrest dangerous agitators without sufficient forces to guard against disorder, is admitted. As Lord Willingdon pointed out, the suddenness and the extert of the conflagation in Malabar point irresistably to the existence of a wide spread and dangerous organisation, whose leaders were only watching for our opportunity to attempt by violence to overthrow existing government and exploit for that purpose, the religions fanaticism of the Mophahs. The danger is not confirmed to Malabar. Throughout the circuss, and more particularly in the Delhi areas, the same insidious propaganda of violence is being carried on under runing constituted authority; We have exposed the base methods by which these uncsughlous propagandists play on the superstitions fears and religious beliefs of the masses and sought to a maker the loyal public to the need for counterpropaganda.

The situation throughout the Presidency as revealed by Lord Willingdon's speech is grave indeed.

We welcome the announcement that the Government are determined to do their duty in enforcing the observance of law and order in all parts of the Presidency. We trust among the earliest steps., to be

taken in that connection will be the stopping of the flow of seditious speeches, of which Madras has, if late, had more than enough and the ending of the activities of those propagandists who are ~~endermining~~ undermining popular regard for individual liberty and respect for authority. The defeat of the Revolutionary movement will depend as much on the efforts of the ~~xMoplahxxx~~ people as on the Government. His Excellency appeal to the elected representatives of the people to play their part in the organisation of effective counter propaganda is therefore, timely. We have seen what revolution means in Malabar. It remains to right thinking citizens to do their part in seeing that the tragedy of Malabar shall not be repeated elsewhere in the Presidency. The Governor has spoken well and timely, may his works, applauded in the council, be heeded in the daily life of the people.

Conciliatory But Firm. 5 - 9 - 1921.

The above words give the keynote to the Viceroy's speech in the Indian Legislative assembly on Saturday. From the South Indian Point of view the most important references made in his speech were those to the situation in Malabar. His Excellency, like others who have studied the genesis of the rising, finds that the outbreak was the result of careful and widely organised preparation. And he makes the Satisfactory statement that those responsible for causing this grave outbreak of violence and clime must be brought to justice and made to suffer the punishment of the guilty. We hold this to be much more necessary than the punishment of those who have been caught actually taking part in the revolution. And if the Viceroy's intention is to be fully carried out, the net will have to be very widely cast, and the catch must include such men as the Ali brothers, Mr.Gandhi and their lieutenants in South India who have deliberately and persistantly preached the Gospel of revolt against the constitutional authorities. Unless the net be thus widely cast, those primarly responsible for the revolution will escape their just punishment. For, look at it as we may, there is no gainsaying the fact that the prevailing disrespect for authority and the readiness of the people to disregard the law are traceable, in the first place, to these leaders who, under the guise of a political movement for selfgovernment, are instilling into the mind of the people revolutionary and anorthical ideas. The Viceroy himself proclaims the responsibility of those leaders. He says that there are signs that the activities of the leaders, or at least one section of them.

may take the form of even a more direct challenge to law and order. And he warns such leaders that the Government will not be deterred one man's breadth from doing their duty. We contend that their duty at this movement, where the ~~inetims~~ victims of murder and outrage Malabar cry aloud for the punishment of the guilty, is to restrain the preachers of revolution and awarely, whether they disguise themselves as non-violent non-co-operation lambx or Khilafat wolves, from spreading further their pernicious doctrine. Wisdom arges the prevention of disorder and bloodshed by active measures, not the issue of words pronouncements which seek to conciliate the agitators and leave them free to persue their ~~xixix~~ evil course untill a comflagration takes place.

"It would appear." 9 - 9 - 1921.

We have received the report of Messrs T.V. Venkatrama Iyer and T.Prakasam, the Madras Provincial Conference Delegates, on the Moplah rebellion We are not publishing this document; because of the ~~pixxxx~~ ~~ignorous~~ poisonous statements it contains, made without any evidential support. The most glaring example, which will ~~paride~~ provide a sufficient sample of the sort of thing the report contains, is the way in which the non-co-operation emissances dealt with the action at Tiruragadi on August 20, when Mr.Rowley and Lichterant Johnstor were killed. The investigators write. "bye witnesses state that the Leinstus were in the post ~~Africa~~ Office, that afternoon progress a crowd of Moplahs went to the post office and requested the release of the persons who had been arrested. It would appear that they were asked to sit down while some sat and others standing without warning the police and military opened firm on this crowd and 17 were killed. Some of the persons sitting got infuriated rushed upon the Police and killed two Europeans, Mr.Rowleyx and Mr.Johnstore, and two head constables". It would appear" is all the evidence Messrs Venkantarama Iyer and Prakasam wan adherence for such a serious allegation. But it is enough for their purpose of white washing the Moplahs and they make it (altogether their own language implics its doubtfulness) the basis of a defenite conclusion later, as follows: "The second fatal blunder of the authorities was in opening ~~time~~ fire without warning on a crowd which was made to sit, which must have exasperated the ~~banotic~~ fanatic gang evermore". A period of investigators that will make up a report on these lines will say nothing. Our readers will be able to imagine quite easily what the

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rest of the amazing document is like. The Khilafet and congress agitator are, of course, absolved from all responsibility for the Moplah outbreak. We think that we can heat it to our readers to apportion the blame carrectly, without the help of members of the Madras provincial conference.

It is satisfactory to turn from the Simla communication that the morales of the rebels is waning and that no further organised ressistance is expected. It is obvious that the military station of Malappuram should never have been abandoned and must now be revive, and some use should be made of the ~~abroadronex~~ aerodrome at Banglore on which so much money was spent. Will Mr.Gandhi and Ali brothers and others still at large, and with the Government taking no steps to prevent such poisonous reports as the one we have refused to being issued, there are possibilities of renewed outbreaks. The policy of non interference has been proved now to be fatal.

A wise precaution. 15 - 9 - 1921.

In view of the situation in Malabar, a direct revolt of Khilafat propaganda and the influnatory speeches of Khilapat leaders, the District Magistrate of Vizagapatnam has acted visely in arresting Mr. Mahomed Ali and thus preventing further utterances by him in an atmosphere highly charged with unrest. The arrest was effected as Mr.Mohomad Ali was endeavouring to address a gathering at the waltair Rail way station, the sections under which the arrest was made being Nos 107 and 108, Cr.P.C. which give a Magistrate power to require any person, who, according to his information, is likely to commit a breach of the peace or disturbance the public tranquility to excuse a bond for keeping the peace for such period, not exceeding one year, as the Magistrate thinks fit to fix. The District Magistrate of vizag, knowing the excitement prevailing throughout the circars, where as His Excellency the Governor stated in the council chamber a fortnight ago, insidious revolutionary propagandists have been at work, underwinning constituted authority placing race hatred and seeking to instill into the masses impatience of and comtempt for constitutional authority first decided that Mr. Mohammed Ali should not be permited to make a speech in the district, and when he endeavoured to make it, arrested him, of the wisdom of the action, there can be no question. Madras possesses in the stream of murders outrages and robbines in Malabar ample evidence of the harm which results from allowing revolutionary propaganda to proceed unchecked. The object of Mr.Mohamed Ali's mission in Madras was no secret. His visit was part of a campaign of revolution which

has been vigorously conducted throughout India and the purpose of which was clearly revealed in the wild and disloyal speeches delivered at the Karachi Khilafet conference. Had he been permitted to carryout his purpose here, there is no limit to the difficulties and troubles which might have followed. For these violent preachers of non-violence have a most disturbing effect on the mind of the masses, especially of those who are improved with religious fanaticism. But his timely action, the District Magistrate has arrested the danger of a further conflagration, and we are sure that the step now taken, a step which has long been urged by law abiding citizens will receive the firm support of loyal sons of India of all who desire place and order.

Mr. Gandhi in Madras. 16 - 9 - 1921.

The spinning wheel the Panacea.

At the end of a day's busy Programme of discussions with local Khilafat and congress workers. Mr. Gandhi motored to the Triplicane Beach yesterday evening, where he received a most enthusiastic ovation from thousands of people.

As usual the leaders among the crowd appeared in Khaddar cloths, an example which Mr. Gandhi regretted had not been followed with the rank and file of his following. Even the gathering of Indian ladies was severely rebuked by Mr. Gandhi for not wearing Khadder.

In the course of his address, which was devoted to reinforcing the programme of non-violences and paths to Swaraj he sketched out were the spinning wheel, Swadeshi, and Hindu Muslim unity.

So confirmed an opportunist is Mr. Gandhi that such a small affair as the Moplah Rebellion, involving the looting and ruin of many hundreds of Hindus and loss of many innocent lives, seemed to have made no deep impression on him. He was sure that had his followers and chief Lientenants been allowed to approach the fanatic Moplahs, they would have been able to restore calm and peace in unfortunate Malabar.

Speaking of his following in the Northern Circars, which were among the chief centres of non-co-operation activities, Mr. Gandhi said he could not fail to refer to Madras Ministers a thorn in their side, in anything

but terms of dissatisfaction. He could understand the Executive Members of the Government acting defiance of Indian opinion, but what could he say of the conduct of Ministers drawn from the elected representatives? Judging from what they had done in forcing a Municipality on an unwilling population, and in helping the enforcement of unpopular forest laws, to the prejudice of the people and the detriment of cattle, he had no hope from the Ministers.

The only hope for the country lay in the attainment of Swaraj and the establishment of their first Parliament, the first legislation of which ought, in his opinion, to be a measure for the release of all victims from the Government prisons.

The Fiction and the Fact 19 - 9 - 1921.

"It is our case that those places where this violence have taken place were those least touched by non-co-operation". These are Mr.Gandhi's words to an interviewer. The same they has been said a dozen time or more by Khilafat and congress leaders, all anxious to dodge the responsibility for the crimes which the deluded Moplahs have committed. It is however, a sore disappointment to them that so little credence is given to their denials. Most people to judge by results than by the denials of the accused and seeing what is happening in Malabar, the declaration of Swaraj by rebel leaders, the accumulating evidence of active preparation for a revolt by Khilafat agitators, they naturally come to their own conclusions as to where the blame lies. But even more direct evidence is available, evidence called from Extremist sources. Our own correspondent in Malabar sends us some interesting particulars in this connection. He tells us that, despite the assertions of the congress and the Khilafat leaders to the contrary, Extremist propaganda was actively pushed in the three disaffected taluqus.... He further adds that although public meetings were prohibited, it is a matter of common knowledge that congress workers were operating in all the three taluqus. Statistics of Khilafat sabhas and members are not available but everybody in the District knows that months ago Khilafat committees were in existence in numerous villages and tarsin all the three Moplah taluqs and Khilafat preachers and propagandists were constantly at work.

It is, of course, quite in keeping with extremist tactics to shut their eye to obvious facts

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when such tend to prove the essential ~~conciousness~~ viciousness of their cause. But the average citizen will not ignore them. The Mophah rising has proved that beneath all the life service to non-violence so phanasically indulged in by Extremists, there is a most powerful appeal to the worst instincts of the people. The Extremists prech only one ~~or~~ gospel, the gospel of hatred and greed. And they propagate it by promises of good things to come when the present Government is overthrown and the Extremist Government reigns in its place. However Gandhi and his lenchmen may assert their innocence, the truth remains that the genesis of the present revolution Malabar is to be found in the activities of non-co-operation and Khilafat propagandists working on the religious susceptibilities of a fanatical people. The tree is known by his fruit", and the fruit of non-co-operation is violence.

Ministers as campaigners.

20 - 9 - 1921.

Parliamentary privilpges involve corresponding duties, and are of these is, it is satisfactory to note being ably carried out by the Madras Ministers. Herein Madras the forces which attack the government are revolutionary rather than political. Members of the Extremist party declare that they do not seek to enter the legislature. Their aim is to destroy it, and to erect in its place a dictstorship of men whose methods are intimidation and boycott. So fight such insidious foes, it is necessary that our legislators and especially our Ministers, go into the constituencies and preach the true gospel of constitutionalism. At this moment, Madras Ministers are busily engaged on this most important work. Two of them are now touring the Kistna and Godavari Districts, fighting the non-co-operation moment, and achieving considerable success manifesting to the people the dangers of the revolutionary creed which the non co-operators have been so sedulously preaching.

Speaking at Tenali, the Hon'ble Mr.Ramaraya Ningar said that it was much to be regretted that the revolutionary movement had not been xxppix ripped in the bud. He added that the movement had grown partly in owing to the indifference of law abiding citizens in the belief that the movement was bound to fail. ....We were told by many people that we were exaggerating the evil, that, if Liffalore, non- co-operation would die. But dismayed by the apathy then promoting we continued our campaign, and time and events have fully justified our policy. Our great reqnet is that the first manifestation of revolutionary acitivity came

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so soon and found the law abiding section of the population unorganised and unprepared. It has however aroused the people to the true nature of the Extremist menace and the grave danger of allowing the propagandists of revolution to pursue uncombated their work of perverting the minds of the masses....... The Manifesto issued by the Moplah leaders strongly condemns the attempt if Extremist leaders including Ali Brothers and Mr.Gandhi, to tamper with the loyalty of the Muslim community, and empharise the bounder duty of all Muslims to help the government in carrying on their administration. The people are now alive to the dangers of the Extremist policy/ and now is the time for all intensive campaign in favour of constitutionalism. We strongly urge all leaders of the people, and especially the elected representatives in the Council, to follow the example referred by their Ministers and fight the revolutionary propaganda in all the constituencies.

Trust The Legislators. 21 - 9 - 1921.

An eminantly reasonable report" will be the verdict passed on the report of the Repressive laws committee now published. The committee's findings will not be generally welcomed, and like the Rowlatt committee, which faced facts bravely and advised accordingly, they will be severely condemned by the Extremists for having spoken the truth about what their investigations have revealed. They have not hesitated to recomand the use of the knife, where they have been convinced that a repressive law is redumdant, yet they have not closed their eyes to the fact that in certain circumstances exceptional laws are necessary Thus they have not been led by the insensate ~~chamber~~ clamour of loud voiced revolutionaries into ~~admissing~~ advising the repeal of all legislation which is the past has been deemed repressive by the unthinking. Only those whose methods are anarchical and revolutionry have reason to fear such legislation, and we gladly welcome the decision of the committee to recommand the postponement of their repeal untill such time as the revolutionaries now at work in the country should have ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ abandoned their dangerous tactics and turned to the better and more successful methods of constitutionalism to secure their aims.

With the committee's recomendation that the Rowlatt act and simlar unused ligislation be repealed we heartily agree. The committee say that in cases of grave emergency they think the Government must ruly on the Legislature to arm them with the Weapons necessary to cope with the situation".

In another place they say: "Trust your legislatures. If you read excaptional powers, prove your necessity and the Legislaures will grant them". We sincerely hope that this is the view which the government of India will take.......Remove those laws, throw the responsibility for providing measures to meet exceptions circumstances on the elected representatives of the people, and you have almost completely disamred the Extremists. At least they will no longer be able orate vehemently on the so called tyranny of a bureaucratic British Government.......

Were not the situation thoughout India so critical, we would even urge the immediate repeal of the seditious Meetings act and the other special laws which the committee themselves think should, for the present at least, be postponed. For we are convinced that it would not be long before Indian's themselves clamoured for special measures to suppress the dangerous activities of unscrupulous and revolutionary agitators. The mass of the people of India are lovers of law and order. They tolerate agitators because they feed that as soon as these latter began to get actively dangerous, the Government will step in and stop them. But should the Indian people find that the government are unable to protect them against these agitators because no law exists for that purpose, they will soon force their legislators to provide a law. It is the general realisation of the fact that, owing to the preaching, of disobedience and violent doctrines by the non-co-operators, no meeting is safe from rowdy Extremist demonstrations. The idea of such a law being necessary did not originate with the committee. It has been entertained for months past by so her minded Indians,

and there is a growing demand by the mass of the electors for such a measure. The people want to hear both sides of public questions, and they see thzt the tacties of the non-co-operators are preventing them from satisfying this desire. The committee makes the following sensational remarks: "We have received information of a possible recrudescensce of Secret associations in another part of India (Delhi-Volunteers) It has also been stated in evidence that Bolshevik emissaries have entered India, and we can not overlook ~~the~~ the possibility of illegal associations promoted by them terrorising the population and enjoying in a campaign of wire and terrorism. "Such is the danger which faces India. We have seen what has happened in Malabar as a result of the Khilafat and non co-operation propaganda. The Committee itself speaks of the danger of violent and inflamarable speeches, and of the obstacle which non co.operation officers to the successful development of the Reforms. We suggest, therefore, that the Imperial Government go to the Legislative assembly, present the Report and say: "We are prepared to accept these findings, and we ask you to give us your solemn assurance, by a vote duly recorded, that you will be prepared to give us whatever parus may be necessary to fight the dangerous movements to which the Report refers". In this way the Government will be provided with the powers it requires and the people's representatives will accept the responsibilities to which their position imposes on them.

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Hammer blows. 22 - 9 - 1921.

With heavy blows of the hammer of truth the Madras Ministers have reviled the disuttered by Mr.Gandhi, in Madras to the cunter. Mr.Gandhi directed his shafts at the wrong people, and they have been effectively returned. It is long since we enjoyed reading a political speech in India so much as we have enjoyed reading that of Mr.Venkatareddi Naidu. He hit out straight from the shoulder, and by an adroit use, of redicule, showed how truly ignorant was this Mahatma', who presumes to speak on all things. The speaker ruthlessly tore the never of non-violence from Mr.Gandhi's campaign. "The latter's libels against the British Government". Mr.Reddi Naidu said, "are given expression to with set purpose. Mr.Gandhi's object, whenever he speaks, is to excite people against the Government, professing non-violence all the while. The other Ministers were not less plainspoken in their exposure of the falsity of the Gandhian pacifiaist professions. Mr.Ramarayanigar declared that "Mr.Gandhi belonged to the same type of Mahatmas to which belonged the Maharatha pretendy of the great Indian Muliny notoriety"We have always contended that Mr.Gandhi is a pretender. He accepts honour to which he must know he is not entitled. Those who contend that he is a just and fearless politician, only anxious to serve his country, overlook his calm acceptance of the title Mahatma, and his complecent reception of the worship of pious people. He has, in Madras, received with among equanimity honours accorded to duties. The theatrical nature of his life, his prolonged periods of silence, and his attire, are all adopted with one purpose, that of impressing the

imagination of the people.

Mr.Gandhi's journeys round the country are well like those of some great showman. His coming is well advertised in advance by his agents. He receives ample publicity in the Extremist Press, arouse the curiosity of huge crowds by lettered wired and wonderful stories of his doings. And where the crowds refuse to chen he has his private claque to provide the applause. The Gandhism spectable is maintained and built up on falsehood, and it is propagated by the distortion of facts. Gandhism, in short, is a creed of misrepresentation and pretence, and it is well that our Ministers should reveal its true nature to the electors whom they serve.

Timely and outspoken. 27 - 9 - 1921.

Whether coincidence or design is the explanation of the simultanious occurance of Mr. Gandhi's tour, the tour of the Madras Ministers and the holding of the Non-Brahmin conference at Trichinopoly there is no doubt that it was a fortunate combination of events Mr.Gandhi's attack on Madras Ministers and Politicians generally spinned them to exceptional plain speaking and the result has been the delivery speeched which for states manship and frankness, cannot be excelled in the whole history of the non-Brahmin movement. Dr.Nair, the great leader of the movement, to whose memory an eloquent tribute was paid at Trichinopoly, was ever a plain speaker.
When he attacked any thing what straight from the shoulder He did not manace his words, be the object of his attack a municipal ~~afferm~~ officer who had failed in his duty or a government who had not come up to his expectations For a long while it looked as if the non-Brahmin party had failed to imbibe the spirit of its dead founder. querulous complaints, purposeless arguments, and frankly quibbling seemed to form the bulk of its leader's utterances. This was not surprising for a party representating on community long ignored by the nation's leaders tended naturally to devote itself at first to securing the redress of its grievences rather than to the great work of a national reg~~eneration~~ evasation and political development.

The Trichinopoly non Brahmin ~~concerence~~ ~~Ago~~ together with the speeches made recently by Madras Ministers who belong to that party reveal a changed tone and a more hopeful spirit among its members.

Mr.Gandhi's subversive policy has been subjected by non,Brahmin speakers to such a plain spoken criticism that no thinking citizen who had heard and read these speeches can be left in any doubt us to the dangers of his methods. Too long have non-co-operation propegandists been allowed to have the field to themselves. The anti-non-co-operation on co-operation organisations now formed to root out the non-co-operation tares and sow the seed of constitutinnal progress have much work before them. But they have much to help and encourage them.

To fight the revolutionary non-co-operation movement, as Mr.C.R.Reddi rightly said, agreat organisation is necessary an organisation coextinsive with the interest of Indians. It should possess a conprehensive outlook, andhave liberal views on social questions. It should fight against revolution with all its might while upholding of the promises in the Reforms Act.

Paying the Price.   30 - 9 - 1921.

Malabar at this moment affords a striking example of the price which India must pay for apathetic tolerance of revolutionary propaganda. There, Moplah armed gangs, with a total strength of about 10,000 are terrorising large tracts of country. They are robbing and assaulting Hindu and other non Muslim inhabitants, pillaging Government buildings, and looting bazaar, stones and form houses. Their resistance to the forces sent, against them is becoming stronger, and more ~~XXXXX~~ cunningly de~~sired~~vised, the leaders, advised by exsepoys, are adopting the tacticts of guerilla warfare, avoding buildings and dwelling places and camping in the open. In short we have in Malabar all the accompaniments of an armed revolution against the constitutional government with the addition of outrages on peaceful inhabitants who differ in faith from the rebels. To ~~small~~ quell, the rebellion and to protect loyal citizens, extensive military operations are being undertaken. These involve the use of many troops, and, as we see from the reports published from day to day, the number of soldiers employed is being frequently added to, while daily the terror stricken population appeals for ever more troops to come to their aid. Martial law, the proclamation of which was necessitated by the rebellion, must continue in force untill order has been restored and the cast enbus and revolution extinguished. This, in view of the tactics now pursued by the rebels must necessarily take along to effect.

Besides the suffering which the acts of the rebels involve, the rebellion and its suppression

is costing, and will continue to cost, the country a very considerable sum of money. It is upsetting the trade of a wide district and depriving many people of an opportunity to earn their livelihood. Want and distress prevail in a large part of the area affected by the revolt, and, worst of all, there prevails a most disturbing feeling of insecurity among the population of the whole Moplah District. Peace and contentment have vanished, men, women and children are fluing drom their lones forfear of possible outrage, and inscrupulous men are taking advantage of their panic to bleed them of the few possessions they carry with them. Such are the fruits of Extremism- And who is it that pays the price thereof? Nor merely the people, of the effected area, though they pay most. The whole of India will have to hear a share of the loss caused by the rebellion. India will have to bear the cost of the use of armed forces to suppress the revolt, and India has to bear the loss due to vanished, trade and despoiled produce. Surely it is time for all loyal Indians to declare that they will not tolerate the Extremists propaganda of revolutiln and hate.

Let it be remembered that the Extremists are not detemd from their evil courses, by that has happened and is happening in Malabar. Hindu extremists may ~~exp~~ express regret at the loss and sufferings of their coreligionsts in the disaffected area, they do not cease their destructive propaganda. On the contrary, they take care to proclaim to the world their approval of the Khilafat propaganda which has caused the conflagration in Malabar. And in order that the Government shall not be able to protect loyal citizens,

~~they endeavour to reduce India soldiers from their~~

they endeavour to seduce India soldiers from their allegiance. They give their condial endorsement to the statements of khilafat leaders, leaders who frankly admit that, were it feasible, they would raise Muslim leaders Indians in arms against the government only the abouse of weapons and of opportunities for training deters them. Happily such men have failed to obtain the power over the bulk of their fellow countrymen that they have consistently striken for. They have been defeated by the inmate loyalty of the Indian people, Muslims, Hindus and others. Yet Malabar warns us not to content ourselves with the knowledge of their failure. The number of the Moplahs revolting is small compared with the total members of the race, but they are causing untold hardship. If we wish to preclude all possibility of similar trouble in other parts of India, we must strive to counteract the effect of revolutionary propaganda by the dissemination of truth. There is no time to lose. Under the guise of non-violence, the extremists are preaching doctrines which must inevitably lead to violence, and only determined compaigning by loyalists can prevent out breaks throughout India.

Malabar's S.O.S. 14 - 10 - 1921.

Malabar sends out to India, and the world beyond, the S.O.S. signal, confident that the people of India and her friends beyond will rally to her helper speedily and willingly as slips xxxxx at sea to a vessel in distress. Many of her people, like the crew of a stricken vessel, are suffering as a result of causes over which they have no control. Many have lost their all - home, possession, and even their dearest loved ones. They have been robbed and cruelly ill threated by mom whose ffanatical zeal has been inflamed by provacative propaganda. Many other suffers have fled in terror from their homes in order to escape from marauding bands of rebels. They have abandoned everything that they might the some reach the protection of the military. Their ranks include all classes. Rich and poor, alike, have fled in panic from areas made fe arful by the excesses of armed mobs. Starving, destitute, and suffering severely from the effect of prolonged journeys through the countryside, journeys which were made continual mightnares by the ever present fear of the coming xxx of and maravders, these poor refuges have crowded into the camps prepared to accommodate them such relief as could be afforded them on the spot has been given, but more needs to be done to save many thousands from servister nation, illness, and, perhaps, death.

Unfortunately this felt has been lost right of in the discussion, mostly political in nature which has been going on in various greaters over the cause of the Malabar rebellion and the responsibility thereof. In quarrelling over what actuates the

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the rebals, many people have forgotten the sufferings of those effected by their malpractics. A forcible reminder of these is convaged by the statement from Mr.G.K.Denadhar vice President of the servants of India society Mr.Denadhar xxxx has travelled throughtout the greater part of the afflicted areas, he has seen with his own eyes the suffering which the rebells have inflicted on their loyal and peaceful fellow citizens. In a letter he gives details of the great tragedy which had been, and is being, enacted in Malabar, and he appeals strongly for help. for those who have been plundered, assaulted and deprived of their all. Men, women and children are among the number, and who can resist the cryof the children? Four hundred thousand persons are in need of help, and Rs.10 lakhs willbe needed to afford them relief. workers to administer the relief are needed, too, so that those who answer Malabar's S.O.S. may do so in two ways; by personal endeavour and by liberal donations. And relief, to be fally effective, should be afforded quickly, so the people of India and their friends at home and abroad Malabar appeals with pathetic confidence in their willingness to help her. We would especially urge Europeans in India to be liberal handed in responding to this cry for help. Britain will, we feel sure, ~~time~~ live up to the grand traditions of their race which permits no worthy cause to go unsupported, no case of distress willingly to go in assuaged. The sufferings in Malabar are particularly deserving of sympathy. They are the victims of men whose rebellion is against Britain for reasons external to India, namely Britain's attitude towards Turkey grossly misrepresented by interested parties.

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to belittle the Moplah's crimes and their tragic results. So Loyal Indians, Malabar will not appeal in vain.

Relief of present distress will not alone suffice. Mr.Denadhar makes this clear. What is wanted is greater and move effective efforts by the Government of India to suppress the rebellion. More troops to fight the rebells, more police and volunter patriots to protect those in the rebellion area, are all urgently needed. There is a growing feeling in South India, it has beeome a settled ~~connection~~ conviction in many parts of Malabar - that the authorities the riot sufficiently firm in their incasures against the rebels. The lightness of the sentences inflicted on those convicted of rabellions acts is pointed to us an example of the kindglow methods which the Government of India, now responsible for the restorator and order in the martial Law areas, are adopting. "What is the good of such sentences" is the bitter connect of those who live check by jowl with serves of mender and repair the Malabar, "the Maplahs only laugh at them". "It seems", says another, that the Government of India have been conquered by the Extremists. They fear to inflict perustrants must for the rebel's climes on to take strong action against them because of a possible Extremist outcry such as followed the pursiah" Meret of this criticism is justified. We do not urge the unemployment of the mailed fish or the Jackfoot, but we claim that terrorism must be not by firmness, and that weakness can only prolong the strife in Malabar, increase the sufferings and miseries of the people,

add to the tale of murder and outrage committed by the rebels, and encourage other wild sprits to join their ranks. We would urge therefore, that sterner measures against the rebels go hand in hand with relief of the distressed. Malabar has suhont her call for help. We trust her call will receive speedy and generous response.

Counsel of the Wise. 18 - 10 - 1921.

Mr.Gandhi with his hamer creed of non-co-operation, is the servant who refuses to use the opportunities which the Reforms have given him, feedful that by so doing he might advantage the Government which he, like the vicked and slothful servant of the parable, accuses of having reaped where they hars not sown. On the other hand we have nonelike Mr.~~Sirrivasx~~ Srinivasa Sastri who, having been given these opportunities, employ them wisely and well, to the advantage of their mother land and land, India. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, whom Madras is proud to claim as her son, has lately been doing valuable work for India in England and on the continent. As a representative of India at the Imperial Conference, he so skilfully stated the case for India that he was able to secure important admissions from the representatives of most of the great dominions. As Governor, as representation of India at the League of Nations meetings, he spoke so continuingly on India's grievances regarding the mandated territories and the like that he was able to impress over the representatives of South Africa, a Dominion which has long proved deaf to India's arguments.

But the most important part of Mr. Sastri's work is not that represented by results ~~admissedin~~ achieved in the conference and at ~~Genrex~~ ~~Guiana.~~ Geneva It is to be found rather in the influence resulting from the ability with which he and his fellow Indian delegates have conducted their case in Conference and League Assembly. This has greatly impressed all who were present at these gatherings. Mr. Sastri tells on

amusing story of one deligate who was convinced by the sound of Mr.Sastri's voice an argument, a tribute this alike to the earnestness with which India's representative larged her case and the preception of the delegates concerned. But more than this the conduct of India's clever sons at these International gatherings, the worlds recognition of India as a factor in world affairs, is fact influencing great Britain, whose statesmen, it should be remembered, first urged her claims to representation in the League of Nations and finally secured their recognition. The British people are naturally conservative. But they are always prepared to recognise proud nail and worth. Thus it comes that the British people, seeing how worthily India's representatives are acquitting themselves in conference and League assembly, are beginning to modify their views regarding the preparedness of India for further steps towards self government Mr. Srinivasa Sastri believes that full Dominion states will kxxxxx be conferred on India by Parliament within ten years, and he lectures that the gift will be accelerated by the participation of India in these Imperial and International Conferences. And in order that there should be no conclusion that other nations may get to understand Indians at Indian affairs better, he urges that the same men be chosen to attend two or more conferences.

Opponents of the wise co-operation, thus beneficial use of the opportunities which the Reforms agford to Indian, will discern in this an effort on the part of the speaker to secure further nomination for himself to attend these gatherings. But such prejudieal opinions may be dismissed at once as

unworthy of consideration, for the argument which Mr.Sastri advances is undoubtedly sound. The other delegates at these conferences are likely to be the same time after time, and it would certainly conduce to a better understanding all round if they were acquainted with India's representatives. But this is a minor point. The main thing is that India should be represented always by her best men. So far her delegates have been well chosen, and have amply justified their selection by their good work. There is another point. Much of the good influence of the useful work perfomred by Indians in the Imperial conference and the League of Nations is undone by inscrupulous afitation and dangerous propaganda in India. It cannot be think, be doubted that the regreted evidence of the dangerous which these extremist activities involve the frequent reports of out reages and disorder in India, the bassorring details of the Moplah rebellion and the excess of the rebels, have done much to cause friends of India in Great Britain to ask whether it is wise to consider to conferent of further privilages united either the Extremists so how more reason, or Moderate opinion in India is now strongly organised of activily working with the authorities in counter acting.

Extremist mischief India's delegates drond may do much to justfy India's claim to Dominion status, they may, by their actions, influence many people towards farming that claim but instill Moderate opinion in India is whole heatedly prepared to fight the revolutionaries, untill Great Britain is afforded ample proof that underself-Government creed will not

van on creed, nor the dasses on the masses, nor cash on nonloste it is exceedingly doubtful whether she will be willing to release the guiding hand she now maintains on Indias' affairs. It is the way of co-operation will the authorities, and the full employment of the privilages of the Reforms. In this way alone can Indians prove themselves true sons and faithful servants of their motherland.

Cheaning up. 20 - 10 - 1921.

The Manifests, which was issued by the strikers in Chittagong complaining of the way in which they had first been misled and than left in the lunch by non-co-operations, was the cry of bitter disillusconed men But their experience was not ~~inquire~~ unique whatever labour has allowed itself to bequlled by Extremist premises, it has in due course had to lament over the callousness of those who have exploited it Fiji labourers, induced to return to India by Extremist agitators, who persuade them by promises of liberal help adample worker this country, find then they return what they are left starved and helpless. Those who have adjured then to return turn a deaf ear to their cry for food and sketter, and to their appears for work reply that they should take up the charka. Coolies from Assam, led to desent from the plantations by unscrupulous congress agitators, who theirs put into practice the teachings of the congress president, find themselves foodless and helpless at the railhead. Arrived home, they learn that they are not wanted, and their villages are closed against them by their fellow villagers, who naturally see in their coming a further drain on their ~~ahead~~ already meague resources. Madras Millhands, induced to strike by Extremist politicians discores after months of idleness that all that the apostile of non-co-operation has to offer them is advice to take to the charka and the handloom and win a pitiful existence by labouring threat, and even this depends on their ability to secure markets for their cloth and yarm.

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In no field have the Extremists so plainly proved the farunnoss of their creed of non-co-operation as in the field of labour. Labour is asked, and, unfortunately, often persuaded to abandon regular work and assured wages, in order that the Extremists may cripple one more industry, din one more blow at British capital. But it is labour which eventually suffers. Assam proves it. To day we had the news that Assam tea garden coolies have decided to return to work on receiving assurance from the Divisional commissioner that he would consider their grievances. Thus ends a struggle which has been long and fruitless for labour. Persuaded by agitators that they were being ill treated and unfairly paid by the estate managements the coolies threw down their work and desented from the estates. Arguments and offers to discuss the question at issue failed to persuade them to return. They had been led by agitators to believe that they had but to strike, and all their demands would be conceded Extremists have no regard for economics, on if they do, they prefer to ignore faults which do not fit their case, and economic facts never do. And now, after much unnecessary suffering, the coolies have decided to return to work on the Assurance of a Government official that their grievances would be considered after consultation with the gardan managers. This made of setting the dispute might have been adopted in the first place had not the extremist agitators poisoned the minds of the coolies against the management and Government alike. In Madras, we are convinced, a similar end will mark the close of the disastrous mill strike.

But what we would emphasise in the present

article is that it is always left to the Government which the Extremists wish to destroy to clear up the messes which the Extremists make. In Malabar, the Government are now busy clearing up the trouble made by mischievous Khilafat agitators. In Assam, a Government officer, is left to mend the rift in the harmonious relations between estate managements and coolies caused by Extremist agitators. In the Frontier Provinces, the Government were conpelled to relieve the suffering caused by the preachers of the Muhajanim excoders. On all rides one sees evidence of the very in which Government and their servants are eventually called in to repair the ranoges which the Extremists cause. It is well that this should be so, for it shows that despite their most frantic and most unscrupulous efforts the Extremist have failed to undermine popular faith in the justice of the Government and their readiness to come to the people's aid in time of trouble. The Government, in fine, are like the dhoby's donkey, cuffed, beaten, and roundly abused, but made to bear the bundrift his tornapton, and relied on always to carry home the loads imposed on him.

Gandhi : Labour. 28 - 10 - 1921.

In his conduct of the labour side of the negotiation between the Ahmedabad mill owners and their employers, Mr-Gandhi is acting fully in accordance with the traditions of political adventures into the sphere of industrial relations. Having agreed to a certain maximum bonus, suggested by Mr.Gandhi himself, the mill owners concluded that the dispute was settled, early the formal ratification of the agreement remaining to be carried out. But that did not suit Mr.Gandhi and his political friends. When the time came to ratify the agreement, he refused to do so and claimed a higher maximum still for labour, giving, as will be seen from a report certain specious and exceedingly unconvincing reasons. Ahmadabad mill owners have, it appears, Yet to learn the lessons which Madras industrialists have learnt, namely, that for industrialists to traffic with these political adventures is but to prepare for themselves a harvest of trouble, of lighting strikes, Ca'carry'son in the factories and sullen discontent, among workers generally.

A contrast. 5 - 11 - 1921.

A short time ago the apostile of non-co-operation returned to Bombay after a lengthy tour in South India and publicly deplored the fruitlessness of his visit to the Madras Presidency. That tour had been made as a specis of fortorn hope. It was hoped that the founder of the movement would bexx able to rekindle the dying afresh the fire of revolutionary propaganda in the South. He came, he say, and he went back empty and ashared. Madras gave him a cordial welcome, as she will to any stranger distinguished or notorious enough to command public attention. But her people remained unconverted. Mayx Nay, move, they decided that the time had comex when they must redouble their activities to ensure the permanency of the British connection and the steady progress of the people towards complete self government, using to the end the privileges and opportunities afforded by the Reforms act. The Moplah rebellion and the shicking incidents connected with that tragic uprising have served to strengthen their determination to co-operate with the Government. The proof is seen in the increasing number of antinon-co-operation and Pro-Reforms societies to be found in South India.

During the past three weeks, but a short period after the ignorious departure of the non-co-operation leader, His Excellency the Governor, and Lady Wellingdon, who typify in themselves the highest form of co-operation for the good of India, insisted the strongholds of the revolutionaries. How were they received? With sullusitence? No! Everywhere they want

they were acclaimed by a loyal populace students, , in whose ranks the emisaries of revolution had been most active, enthusiastically greeted Their Excellencies, read addresses of loyal devotion, and showed their gratitude for the benifits they are now receiving. In one Mahamedan quarter of a town to which the Khilafatists had devoted much attention in the hope of gaining convests, His Excellency was stopped time and gain by those anxious to garland him and prove to him their loyal devotion to their King Emperor. Of non-co-operation there was no sign. Its devotees, if there be any left, hid themselves. There was nothing to mar the cordiality with which loyal wards everywhere greated their representatives of their render and the head of the Government in which the people now have as large a voice. The contrast between Their Excellencies triumphant tan and that of Mr. Gandhi is striking proof of ten commonsense of the people of South India they may flatter revolutionary leaders by listening to their dialities, but they will not follow their teaching.

A Damp Squib 5 - 11- 1921.

It is impossible not to admire the cunning with which the civil Disobedience resolution passed by the All India congress committee has been worded. Mr.Gandhi who moved and presumably framed it now proves that long abstention from legal practice has not entirely deprived him of his craft in drafting Its pontifical phrases will satisfy the most extreme Extremists. It pardens, as was intended that it should, to the clarm of the ardent revolutionaries who seek by a single coup to overthrow the Government. But while they will no longer be able to say that Mr.Gandhi is withholding his permission for the commencement of civil disobedience overlong, they will find it difficult, in most cases impossible, to fulfil his conditions. We doubt, whether there are a dozen men in Madras who could fulfil the conditions which Mr.Gandhi lays down for civil Diso edience Certainly few if any of the leaders of non co-operation or the Khilafat movement in South India will be able to meet all in their own persons.

The resolution is, in short, a damp squib. It has been produced with much ceremony, the four of its lighting has long been talked if, but when the match of practice is applied, it will fizzle out. Instead of the explosion which was to startle and destroy the Government there will be a feable ineffectual splutter, and the charred nothingness. And Mr.Gandhi will be responsible largely for its failure. The leader of non-co-operation, by the terms of this resolution, makes known to the world what has long been rumoured in private, namely, that he is at heart antagonistic to Civil disobedience. It is a plank which he would like

to have let drop quietly out of his programme. Unfortunately for him, that plank had been slized on by the more impeterous of his followers, and they have forced him to proclaim the time for its adoption. Being unable to a made this event, he had made the conditions difficult to the degree of impossibility. Should civil disobedience fail, and failure is inevitable, he has provided ample excuse for himself. He will say that those who attempted it did not fultill the whole of his conditions. No wise demagogue burn all his boats behind him. Mr.Gandhi has kept a whole flect in reserve for case when time makes the admission of the failure of civil disobedience inevitable. He is to be congratulated on his winning, and the Government too on the fact that Mr.Gandhi now rules congress. In tyying to save himself, he saves them much trouble. In this, we are begining to think, is to be found the explanation why Mr.Gandhi goes free while other seditionists are arrested. He is the Government's most powerful helper, for though he rants a lot about sedition and the like, be cripples the enemies of the Government by his entangling clauses.

"Non-Violence"in Practice. 7 - 11 - 1921.

Telegraphs from Calcutta give details of serious riot at Howrah following on a non-co-operation meeting. Portions of the audience, on being asked to disperse quietly, attacked the Assistant Magistrate and the police, with the result that one constable has died, one is a serious condition, and others have received more or less serious injuries. Khilafat volunteers played a prominent part in the fighting, throwing linchhots at the notice and other wise adopting a hostile attitude. The inviolent adds one more to the accumalating instances of the powerlessness of the fomenters of revolution to control those whose passions they inflame by rebellions utterances. Before the Fracus began Khilafat" leaders were asked by the police to disperse the crowds. They agreed; one urged the crowd to go away. But their appeals were impeeded, and the mob continued its wild career only when the use of firm arms was restored to by parassed and in juired policemen was the riot qualled and the mob dispersed.

The story of the riot and its request is one with which India, unhappily, is now becoming only too familiar. Ever since the destincting non-co-operation and Khilafat agitation began, we have had periodical ebullitions of mob violence such as that of at Howrah. At a public meeting in Calcutta the day after the roting, at a socalled public meeting it was decided to send a telegram to the Governor of Bengal in which it was stated that the police indulged in indiscriminate wanton assault and slooting on innocent unoffending people". What hope is there for reasons and justice from men who ignore such obvious facts as the assaults on the police, the brickbat and stone throwing,

and the material evidence which a constable's corpse and the injuries of others hear to the violence of the mob.

While Extremist leaders prate of non-violence, and assert that the nation is ready for civil disobedience because it has learnt how to remain passive industrial, their dupes, inflaued to anger and revolt by deliberately provocative speech, hural themselves on the servants of law and order, and seek by force to make their own merits prevail. When they have donethis, the leaders, who talk so much of non-violence, seek to excuse their brutality by flaming and insulting those who, in defence of constitutional authority, have faced danger, andin not a few cases, suffered injury and evendeath.......Those who desire peace and order in India must rally their forces on the side of the lawful guardians of law and order, and make it clear to the revolutionaries that in attacking those things which loyal citizens hold dear, they are not merely attacking the servants of Government, but the whole power of millions of loyalists.

The growth of Parties. 17 - 11 - 1921.

It was inevitable that the conferment of greater powers and responsibilities on India's people should lead to the formation of political parties in the country such parties are necessary to the full enjoyment and utilisation of all the rights which enfranchisement confers on a people. One man alone can not hope to sway the destinies of a nation possessing a constitutional Government. If he be exceptionally tolerated, be may alone be able to influence the ~~decrocious~~ decisions of the legislative body. But he can not alone hope to carry the great majority of the voters with him. For this an organisation is necessary an organisation which shall supplement his own individual efforts by persistent campaigning among the people. In short he must form a political party prepared to support his policy and ready to help him in persuading the nation to adapt it. In India, before the reforms, active political parties were many few in number, and with the exception of the National congress, which was them notice the true sense a party organisation, they were weak and insignificant. So South India we think belongs the credit of forming the first live political party organisaion, the South Indian liberal Federation the Party of the Madras Non-Brahmins. That party has grown in influence and importance till today it may be said to control the majority note in the Legislative council. These of its members are Ministers while its leader is President of the Madras corporation.

This represents considerable progress for a party still very young as political parties go. Much

so much work however, remains for it to do. As the principle upholder of the constitutional method of securing the progress of the nation, it has to wage stern, ~~mending won~~ unending war against the forces of the recolutionary non-co-operation and Khilafat parties while aiming as we all do, at ultimate self-government for India, it must so strive that the people shall be educated in their civic responsibilities made him to the dangers confronting the nation as the result of the anarchical propaganda of the revolutionaries. The non-Brahmin Party leaded by its Ministers has taken a decided part in the campaign against the Extremists. Yesterday evening saw the inauguration of a new organisation the Madras city Liberal Association, this association while specially promoting the objects of the Party to which ~~thexxhe~~ it belongs shall go far to educate the masses in the duties of ~~the~~ true citizenship. We trust that it is but the ~~force~~ forerunner rumour of other ~~true~~ live political organisations.

The Government must Act. 19 - 11 - 1921.

Two noble messages appear in our columns today. One is an avowal by Mr.Gandhi of his inability to control the forces of revolt which he has aroused, the second is an outspoken challenge of the Bengal Chamber of commerce to the Government of India to justify its present attitude, towards the revolutionaries. Mr. Gandhi's message explains itself. It is an avowal of failure, of primary responsibility for the terrible climes which have this week disgraced Bombay. This man, who but a few days ago was proclaiming to the world that "the nation had demonstated its capability for exemplary restraint," who advocated civil disobedience by the masses, now admits, what all same men for saw, that the Frankerstim monster of revolt which he has been so busy creating, has now escaped his control. Mr.Gandhi now stands before the world as a self confessed incompetent. It courts nothing to his credit that he has humble to breed hatred, disaffection, and murder in the hearts of mal contents. Nothing is easier than to arouse the brute in man. We have seen it done by men totally illiterate, whose only asset was a persuasive tongue and persons or policies to attack. The greater work is to arouse miss minds to work for worthy purposes, to awaken in their noble impulses, to ultrate higher qualities. These thin s Mr.Gandhi have never attempted. He has created a monster, and rore that that monster has begun its bloody career, he stands and benowns his helplessness. But his repentance is not wholly sincere. He does not admit that he has been wrong in his actions. He does not desire, as true penetents world, the destruction of the monster. He merely wants

others to help him win control of it that they might use it better for his ends, revolution and anarchy.

There is only one way in which the monster can bex destroyed, and that is the way enunciated in the Bengal chamber of commerce's letter. The Government must assure all loyal citizens that they are prepared to protect them against Indestation and intimidation. Months ago we stated that officials were detained in the fulfilment of their duties in maintaining law and order by the feeling that they had not the backing of superior authorities and that the local Government were crippled in their handling of crime and disorder, in their restraint of revolutionary and seditious activities, by the reluctance of the Government of India to support then is so doing. The Bengal chamber of commerce repeats that charge. Can the Government of India deny it? We doubt it. By their senseless policy, first enunciated by the Viceroy, of refusing to take any action against the non-co-operations and Khilafatists so long as their campaign continued to be superficially non-violent the Government of India have played into the hands of these Extremists. Let us take, for example the recent hartals. It is non-violence, in the non-co-operations and Khilafatists' point of view, and apparently that of the Government of India too, to tell a man that if he does not shut his shop, or cease work, on stable his bandy, he will suffer personal or material injury. No violence has been done in making the threat. There is, of course, the threat of violence, there is intimidation, but no actual violence, and so long as actual violence is wanting, the

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Government ordians that these terrorists shall be left alone.

What is the result? It is, as the Bengal Chamber points out, partent to the humblest worker, to the most illiterate. The Government and then officers no longer passes the confidence of the masses. The Extremists lies - that the Government have ceased to govern, that Mr.Gandhi is King, thatthe orders of the tyrannical non-co-operation and khilafat committees must be obeyed - are believed by hundred and thousands because the Government stand idly by while they are cajoled and threatened. By their present passivity, the Government are aiding the cause of the revolutionaries; they are fighting the battle of the destroyers. One thing stands out crystal clear. The Government of India must change their policy. Intimidation and sedition must no longer be winkled at because those who employ the one and advacate the other are clever enough to use violence while refraining from it, a paradose which finds simple exposition in the hartals of the past few days. India needs a government which will assure freedom, from modestation and intimidation freedom to enjoy their careful sights and privileges to all loyal citizens, whether they he princes or purpers and which will so act that they shall deserve and enjoy the confidence and respect of the people. India has no such government now. The people must demand charge. Bengal has given us lead, Madras should follow it, which the loyal citizens of every other province.

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The Red Terror. 21 - 11 - 1921.

India now finds ~~in~~ herself face to face with one of the greatest crises of her history. She has now to decide whether she will be ruled on constitutional principles, or shall be the slave to tyrannts whose weapon is the red terror. There is no shirking the issue, Malegoon, Malabar and now Bombay prove that a decision can not longer be delayed. Having successfully sown the seed, the apostle of revolution, Mr.Gandhi, nonfroses as harrified at the harvest. "The swaraj that I have witnessed in Bombay during the past two days has struk in my nostrils, with non-violence on our lips we have terrorised those who have differed from us", he cries. But nowhere in his long manifesto do we find panitence for past conduct, condemnation of the policy which has led up to those terrible deeds to which he refess. He does not condemn the cause. He himself speaks of the expediency of proceedings with the practice of a creed he has prepogated, but he does not admit, and an honest man would, that that creed was false. There are those who would have us believe that by publishing the admission of

his inability to control the monster ~~the~~ he has created which is spreading death and disaster throughout the ~~which~~ country, Mr.Gandhi has proved his wrote grandeur, has shown the splendour of a truly ~~peroix~~ heroic ~~merid~~ mind.

Let us took and what is happening throughout the country. The terrorists continue to preach the disrupture policies which Mr.Gandhi has produced, and to prepare for greater disturnances by advocating

civil disobedience and flagrantly defying the constitutional authorities.

Happily however, the Provincial Government are beginning to realise that their past tolerance has increased, not diminished the magnitude of the evil. The Madras Government by their fearless action is calling on aditorists to justify their actions or suffer the consequences, of their misdoings, have given indication of their prepa redness to fight terrorism where it ought to be fought, at the fountain head. Bengal convinced at last have also acted. They have declared the non-co-operation and Khilafat "volunteers" organisations illegal, and have began active work in breaking up these organisations. The Provincial Government of India should make clear to the nation that they are behind the Provinces.

Reaping the whirl wind. 22 - 11 - 1921.

Our Bombay correspondent sends us a grapic account of the situation in that city during the past week. It shows that the situation in Bombay has been far worse than we in the South have realised. "The tale of the happenings of the first day of the Princes visit, he says, is one of the establishment of a reign of ~~term~~ terror over a large part of the island..... conditions in the city which have brought business to a standstill and stopped the city's meat supply". His picture of Bombay as a city largely in the islands of the terrorists is by no means exaggerated. It finds confirmation in the column of the Bombay chromicle, a journal which is not likely to exaggerate facts which must rebound to the discredit of the revolutionary cause of so ~~mountly~~ violently espouses. In a long and appalling account of the fightfulness prevelent in the city, the Bombay Chronical says: "The last few days have been terrible days for all lawabiding citizens...... In some parts of the city people are constantly on the run... Assaults are common "Houses are raided and looted with impurity.....nobody ~~done~~ dare between out of his house in the evenings, the roads being full of badmashes. There can be little daubt that a reign of terror is prevelent in the city. The morab fibre of the entire body of citizens has deteriorated completely"......From Calcutta there comes similar news on the day of the Prince' arrival, Calcutta was almost a city of the dead, business having been brought to a stand still, workers, public and private, having been terrorised by the intimidation of the extremists into obtaining from work. And here in the South, we have accumating evidence that

most of those who observed the hatral did so out of fear.

What does all this portend? Is it not that the people have now so little faith in the willingness of Government to protect them that they prefer to obey the terrorists to placing themselves under the protection of the authorities? And there is reason to believe that this general submission to the forces of revolution will increase rather than diminish in the absence of any enphatic proclaimation from the viceroy and his government that, can what may, they are determined that law and order shall be maintained and law abiding citizens protected. We are told that during the early stages of the rioting, authority seemed, to have departed from Bombay. Law abiding citizens were left to take their chance at the hands of the nobs. In Calcutta, the Government showed an unwillingness to intervene. In Madras, we know, no steps were taken. Officially to counter the Extremist Campaign of intimidation Even the usual perbal demonstration, a communique, was wanting. And, so far as we have been able to learn, the Government of other Provinces are equally indifferent. This inactivity of the Provincial Governments can, however, be understood. It finds its origin in the policy of the Government of India, to refrain from interfering with the revolutionaries so long as the letter obstain from breaking heads. They may break the hearts and spirits. of the citizens with impunity, that is non-violence according to the viceroy. Has Bombay taught him the lesson that the murder of the people to the merties of the self-styled non-violent must inevitably

lead to violence, lead to violence, to murder, arson, pillage, out-rage, and even worse? The question is pertinent for though the Viceroy is still in Bombay, and has doubtless witnessed some of the carnage in that afflicted city, he yet remains dumb. He be no word of reassurance for the millions of loyal and law abiding citizens in India who are anxiously waiting same sign which will prove that the Government are not impotent or unwilling to protect those faithful to the constitution.

Or has Lord Reeding been hoping that Mr.Gandhi will charge his policy and throw the weight of his influence or the side of co-operation of law and order. If so, he must now admit that he has hoped in vain. Gandhi is still a revolutionary disappointed that his mens have gone away but still determined to over-throw the constitution. Mr.Gandhi in his manefesto to the Hooligans of Bombay" says that those who go to the police and military to same them from persecution. "seek the assistance of an alien Government. i.e. sell their freedom Here we see the true Gandhi the enemy of law and order, the arch intimidators. The Government of India should define once and for all, their attitude towards revolution. By firmness and courage they must seek to win back the confidence of the people in their ability and willingness to save them from terrorists and, lastly, having vindicated the authority of the cane, they will not be left to the tender meries of clamorous enemies. The ration cooks to the Viceroy for a lead.

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<u>Coming to their senses.</u> 25 - 11 - 1921.

There are two reassuring ~~neasuring~~ items of news in today's report of the Malabar Rebellion. The first is that no less than three thousand Moplahs have surrendered to the authorities at ~~at~~ Kunnamangalam, registering their willingness once more to be come law-abiding citizens. What has induced them, to turn from their evil path and to ~~throw~~ remove themselves upon the ~~mercy~~ enemy of the Government, is not stated, but we may presume that they are, if not throughly disappointed that their rebellion has not met with the unqualified success which its inspiress antici-pated. Perhaps they have been disagreedly surprised to find that the British Raj can still, when sufficiently aroused, ~~but~~ except enough force to quell in subordination among those whose real safety depends upon the maintainance of that Raj At least, we hope that this. ~~remander~~ surrender makes the rebirth of that conviction among the malcontents, and that the same lesson which has been ~~learned~~ learled by these three thousand Moplahs will speedily be taken to heart by the remainder. The second item of the news is that seethikoya thangal, the self appointed Khilafat governor of Mannarghat", has contracted a bad attack of cold fest from which he is not likely to recover. Not being able, on the ~~spen~~ spur of the ~~moment~~ movement, to explain to his followers with any degree of plausibility, why, contrary to his promises, British shells persist in exploding when fired, to the exceeding in-convenience of anyone who happens to be in the way, this brave has conceived it opportune, ~~tho~~ to retire into the wilderness

where, we trust, he will find the solitude necessary and on a reexamination of the brutal facts associated with modern ~~until deny~~ artillery procedure which he has so recently had the Unique opportunity of looking into at close quarters.

<u>In Defence of Liberty</u> 30 - 11 - 1921.

"It is the common fate of these indolent to see their rights become a prey to the active. The condition upon which God ~~hath~~ has given liberty to man is eternal vigilance". These words, uttered by a voted Irish orator in the 18th century, have a special meaning for those who line in India in the 20th centuary liberty, the liberty of every man waman and child in India, is now seriously menaced. There are those, who, in their efforts to overthrow the constitutional Government of the country, step at nothing in their endeavours to force their will upon the people. Less than a fort right ago, their tyranical and terroristic methods led to bloodshed and outrage in Bombay, to enforced idleness and suffering in almost every large city in India. This infringement of the liberty of law abiding citizens was the climac of a series of minor attacks upon that most valued of all human possessions. ~~Encopraged~~ Encouraged by the indolence of the loyalists, the revolutionarists went from excess to excess. Happily, however, the outbreaks in Bombay and the indidents of the november 17 have aroused the people throughout India to the gravity of the danger confronting them. They have awakened to the truth that only by the eternal vigilence can their liberty are presumed. Bengal, which has storm itself most widely awake to the danger, has given the country another lead in the campaign in defence of liberty. In calcutta a civil ~~Ghand~~ Guard, a purely volentary and non-official body, has been formed with the purpose of maintaining law and order within the city and suburbs of Calcutta and of preserving the right of every private individual to act according

to his own desires.

This new organisation is a direct reply to the terroristic tacties of the non-co-operation and the Khilafatists. The new body is not political, it is an expression of the people's determination that the elementary right ~~openery~~ of every individual in India to live his own life in his own way within the law shall be respected. We welcome the formation of this civil guard. It is particularly gratifying to us for it parts into concrete ~~form~~ form a suggestion we made months ago when Madras was being terrorised by opposing factories, when the liberty, and even the lives of men, woman, and children, were seriously endangered by the actions of those who sought to impose their will on others. The non-co-operators, and the Khilafatists do not work so openly as did the factions during the recent mill riots. Their activities, thoughless blatant, are not less menacing. They use the more subtle, more despicable, weapons of caste and religions boycott, of intimidations and coercion, in their attack on popular liberty. Publicity is the best weapon to use against them. The people should be told the truth about the Government's willingness to ~~pextentxthem~~ protect them from these mean foes, the Extremists, lies should be exposed, but above all the people should be encouraged, by means of an organisation similar to the Culcatta Civil guard, to defend their liberty and the liberty of those who are too weak or too fearful to defend their own.

There is no time to be lost. The Prince of Wales armies in this city early in the New year. The day of his arrival is to be made the accasion of

a supreme effort by the non-co-operations and the Khilafatists. We know how they secured a partial victory on Nomenies 17 by intimidation of large portion of the population were that day deprived of the elementary right of liberty to ~~pursue~~ their lawful vocation by means of threats. If we are not to see this campaign of terrorism repeated on a large scale next January, steps must immediately be taken to organise law abiding citizens in the depence of liberty. Indolence will lead to disaster, by encouraging the ~~loss~~ foes of Liberty in their war or popular rights. These latter have already matered their plans, and are about to put them into execution Let us be not ~~declined~~ deceived when those same foes claim to fight for liberty." License they mean when they are cry Liberty!" wrote the poet of liberty, ~~Pillar~~ Milton liecense is what the extremists seek, license to murder and outrage law abiding citizens who dare to flout their illegal proclamations. And let us not be deceived by the laments and apologies of extremist leaders. These latter have confessed that they can not control the base passions they have aroused and cannot prevent the outrages which they provoke. Nor do they really desire to. They only seek to excuse and palliate. It is for loyal citizens and for the Government to be are their guardians, to defend liberty, Bengal has set us an example and Madras cannot afford to delay in following it .

Who are they? (Bolshevliks) 2 - 12 - 1921.

Who are the Indians who attend the Bolshemith conferences and who chooses them? Extremist leaders tell us that there are no Bolshemiks in India, that the statements to the contrary are pure fiction, the product of excited minds. And yet we are told by the Bolshevliks themselves that delegates from India are attending their conferences, and prompous announcements of coming Bolshevlik conferences always contain an inhilation to India, as witness the Bolshevlist announcemmant regaxding á Far Eastern conference at Iskutyk. There is no ~~mark~~ smoke without fire, says an old xxxxxx and age and the Bolshevliks would not speak so much of India if their agents were not busy at work in this country or if there were no active Indian Bolshevliks. That there are Indians in Moscow and other Bolshevlik centres im Europe and Asia is common knowledge. They often send message to India, some of which make their appearance in Extremist papers. In these centres many Indians are being trained in Bolshemik propaganda methods. For what purpose? That they may let loose in India the blood of terrorisms and tragedy which has so sadly devastated Russia. In Bombay recently we were given a sample of what India may expect once Bolshevlism secures a firm footing in the country. Non-co-operation and Khilafat leaders, who, if not actually inspired by the Bolshemiks are busy preparing the ground for these advocates of a Vile creed, said that thsese outrages were caused by hooligans. They were only partly right. The outrages were for the most part of the work of

of non-co-operation and Khilafat followers inspired by the creed of BolsheVism, prompted in their work by Indians who, if not avowed Bolshemiks are animated by Bolshemist teachings. The constancy with which messages from Indians in BolsheVist territory are sent to Khikafatists proves the existence of a direct link between those two policies. Khilafat and non-co-operation methods reinforce the proof. Who are the Indian delegates to Bolshemist conferences?

Who ever they may be, it is plain to the least observant among us that they are connected by subtenarean chanals with the extremist party in India. Is it past belief that they are the agents through upon that Extremist party is subudised? The Extremists are well organised, are, indeed, becoming better organised every month. The almost universal hartal observed throughout India on the day the Prince of Wales set foot on Indian soil was enough to convince the least suspicious. That hartal was so spasmodic expression of disloyality by local non-co-operators. It was the result of long and deliberately planned intimidation on the part of a cen ral organisation, and organisation on such an extensive scale requires a good deal of money. Where does the money come from? Is it all raised in this country, or does some of it come from abroad? Is so, from where? It is questions such as these which it behoves the Indian Government to examine, if they are not already in process of examining. It is an American vaxin that any thing can be accomplished through organisation. The prohibitionists organised, there opponents were not and prohibition won, Let us see to it that here in Madras as a certain

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other Provinces, whose governments are more wide awake, the loyalists are given an opportunity to organise themselves against the machinations of the Khilafat and non-co-operation committees.

When several months ago the Madras Mail" launched its campaign against non-co-operation, we approached one of the heads of the Madras Government personally for a little encouragement and help. The reply was that the Madras Mail was overstating its ~~xxxxx~~ use, flogging a dead ~~parse~~ horse, for the Extremist agitation was dying, if not already dead. We wonder what that authority thinks of himself to day. Does he make a habit of shutting his eyes to inconvenient facts? If not, he must be aware of the existence in Madras today of two flourshing Khilafat Slcieties, namely the Jamiaanl Ahrai Islam and the Muslim Volunteer corps, Can the Madras Government supply the public with information as to the doings of these two socities? ~~Wgat~~ what action do the Government propose to take to counter the insidious propaganda and cruel intimidation which is going on in secret ~~xxxxxx~~ but which may reveal itself during the visit of the Prince in as deplorable an exhibition of disloyalty as disfigured his arrival in Bombay?

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VICEROY AND ANGLO INDIANS. 7 - 12 - 1921.

Lord Reading is adways ~~antions~~ cautious in his speeches. He clothes a minimum of meaning in a multitude of words, preferring to speak of precedents and previously announced policies of enunciating views of his own. His speech, published yesterday, in reply to an address presented to him by Anglo-Indians in Calcutta is in his customary manner. There are, however, armdist the staff of references and allusions a few grains of wisdom which Anglo Indians would do well to heed. First of all, there is the frank recognition of the fact that India is the Home of Anglo Indians, that all their interests and prospects are closely interwoman with those of India as a whole Most Anglo Indians recognise this fact today, and the aim of most is to time in harmoney with the many places and peoples which go to make the population of this greet country. But the recognition is xxxxxxxxxx comparatively recent, and there are still those to whom the Viceroy's reminder, promptedly the wise words of the address, is timely. Anglo-Indians, xxxxxxxxx We are certain, have nothing to fear from their fellow citizens, in India. They will, undoubtedly, lose many of those special primileges which they have enjoyed in the past. They will have to complete on equal terms with members of other communities in the industrial, business and official spheres. But this will ultimately prove an advantage to the community, leading to a greater ~~league~~ degree of self reliance among its members and consequently greater self respect.

Already one sees charges in these directions.

We hear much less today of the duties of Government towards Anglo Indians than we did a few days ago, much less of special concessions to the community because of the circumstances of its origin. The claims now made are that the community should be given equal rights with others, not superior advantages. The change is meeting with its reward in the greater frinedliness of the majority of Indians towards Anglo-Indians. This has been plainly revealed in the attitude adopted towards European education by the Provincial Legislative councils. They have not only refrained from any attempt to reduce the grants for this purpose, they have shown a generous indication to further it to the utmost of their ability. There are ample safeguards for the protection of the interests of the community. Hearty co-operation with loyal Indians will assure their problems.

Rebellion. 9 - 12 - 1921.

In Calcutta, the rebellion grows space. Men and women of the Extremist persuation, and youths whose immature minds have been inflamed by the provocative speeches of Extremist leaders, are openly defying the law. The flout the constitutions Government, its orders and its officers. They are in open revolt, not the less serious because, for the moment, the methods they employ are not those of their Moplah contemporaries in the west. In the United Provinces, too, this revolt has broken out, and it threatens to spread throughout the country. Where will it end? The question is quickly answered. We gave the answer nearly a year ago when we declared that unless effective steps were taken to encounter the non-co-operation and Khilafat movements anamely and terrorism would reign in India. That prophecy had already bear partly fulfilled by the events in Malabar. The revolt of the non-co-operators of Bengal and the United Provinces against the law is but a further step towards its complete fulfilment. There can be no other out come of the deliberate defeance of the law now being indulged in and advocated by the Extremists. No man or woman, least of all the immature youths who form the greater part of the Extremists following, can take a draught of the Lady wive of defeance of the law without being filled with a burning lust for more. We have seen this in Malabar, wherethe rebels have gone from edcess to excess, untill a movement which was at first

primarily directed against the Government, their dearnants, and possessions has now become a war on all who do not bow the knee to rebel tyrants.

At present the rebls in Bengal and the United Provinces have not yet openly adopted the methods of their comfierces in Malabar. Their revolt, however, contains all the elements of outrage and terrorism x which are now seen in the actions of the Moplahs. The passage from picketing to pillage and murder is easy and quickly taken. We saw how easily a Bengal crowed is aroused to bring and boothed in the recent riots at Howrah when policemen were killed and infired in the performance of their killed and infined in the performance of their duty. We saw, too, how speedily the follwers of Bombay Extremists forget to be human and became brutes, killing, burning, and assaulting. Open defiance of the law, the encouragement of intimidation and terrorism and which are the prized methods of the Extremists non-co-operators and Khilafats alike, by arousing the basest passions in men, xxxx inevitably lead to disorder and bloodshed.

Happily these facts are now being realised by men of save opinions throughout India. Ten months ago, when we began our campaign against non-co-operation and its sister menace, the khilafat movement, we were told that we were flogging a dead horse, that non-co-operation was dying, and that it left severely alove it would perish. We combated that view because we knew the despicable methods which the Extremists were using to spread their xxxxxx evil

creeds, By playing upon the supenstitutions, the credulity, and the ignorance of man they were x winning as adherents those who would have turned in xxxxx scorm from the simple presentment of their revolutionary doctrine. To day, their organisation completed, their forces prepared, they are waging war against the law of the land, seeking arbitrary to impose their will on the people, But loyal citizens are nov nor alive to their dangers. The Moplah rebellion, the Bombay riots, and the Howrah mender have awakened men who thought the Extremimists inpotent to the facts of their evil possibilities. And this we find a growing demand that government should indicate the law. "The non-co-operation movement" said Sir Bernode Mitter on Wednesday; Xcan no longer be xxxxx triffled with and allowed to run its malcaréer. No Government can allow open defiance of the laws of the country plunged into anarchy. The moderatex Party is willing and ready to support the Government in all legitimate measures". The assurance, though saddly belated, is welcome.

The Extremists are in resolt against the constitutional Government. It behoves us all to support the Government in the fight against extremists activities. Either the people must support the Government in its campaign against the ~~rbbbls~~ rebels or they must allow lawless ness, anarchy, and bloodshed to reign supreme in the land. The ~~chora~~ choice is between peace and security and the tyranny of any man who can, for the moment, secure domination over inflaued mobs.

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The Challenge Accepted. 12 - 12 - 1921.

Stung into action by the open and rebellions defiance of the Extremists, the Provincial Governments in Northern India are arresting rebel leaders. The news is most welcome. It shows that the Governments have accepted the challenge flung at them, and are prepared to use their strength in the defence of law and order and the protection of law abiding citizens. Belated, though it be, this new policy will, it is hoped, yet same India from the horrors of ~~intuneccive~~ internecine war. For that was the end to which the Extremists, non-co-operators Khilafatists, and Bolshemixs alike were harrying the country; They preted about non-violence, well knowing tht hatred, the seed which they sowed with such indefatigable zeal never yet bore any fruit but violence. And when the seed brought forth its fruit in good reason as at Bombay, Malagaon and, Hawrah, they sought to throw the blame on others. In the past, however, Governments instead of proceeding against the principal sowers, have arrested their tools, poor dupes who had been misled by stories of Gandhi's magic power, by ~~xxxx~~ his, and false promises. Even the Extremists themselves jeered at Governments for thus seizing the tool while learning the master workers alone to continue their Bell operations. To day, a new spirit rules the counsels of those entrusted with protecting the lives and liberty of law-abiding citizens. This spirit is ~~remeded~~ revealed in the words of the communique issued by the Bengal Government. They say; "The leaders of the movement have deliberately challenged the power of the Government to maintain law and preserve orders,

and to that challenge there can be but one reply. These leaders have so far tried to force the Government to take action against ladies or immature youths, who have been swayed by inflaumentary appeals to their patriotic sentiments. Government has no wish or intention to visit on them the offences of those who led them astiary. It has therefore been decided to arrest and prosecute certain of the more prominent amongst those who are responsible for the present state of affairs". These are wise words, timely spoken. Governments in India have too long tolerated the activities of the mischief makes while taking action against their catspaws. It was like bying to catch the waters of the stream of revolutionary propaganda while learning the sources untouched. The new policy attacks the source, and will, it is hoped, be pursued without fattering. It should, we think, we accompanied by measures which will put amid to Extremist propaganda from jails.

The success of the new policy is to be judged by the squeals of those hunt by it. The Extremist Press is creating a pandenorium with its screechings about the virtues of arrest, and exhortations to followers to take up the work of those arrested. Extremist leaders are issuing hysterical messages to their followers to keep the revolutionary flag flying and in many other ways frenzied efforts are being made to win public sumpathy for those now inprinsoned for deliberate breaches of the law. It is sought to represent the arrest of law breakers as an attack on national institutions, as an effort to deprive the people of political liberty. We hear

much about an attack on the "National" Congress, the revolutionaries that exploiting a name which they have no right to use. Mr.Gandhi is starving to secure moderate and liberal Indian help for the Extremists by declaring that there is room for all within their fold. He omits to mention, of course, that those who do not subscide to the revolutionary proposals of the Extremists are shouted down in his "National" Congress, hustled and even threatened with eviction, and that in no Extremist Provincial conference satehlities of the congress has a moderate been allowed to exert any influence.

Let no one be believed. The Police non adopted by the Governments in arresting Extremist leaders is one which has been advocated by law abiding citizens in India for months past. It is not repression, it is prudence. Unchecked, the Extremists would have ere long plunged India into anarchy and internecive war. They would have supplanted justice by terrorism and security by tyranny. No man would have been safe unless he was willing to bow the knee to the Extremists, to adopt their policy, and serve their ends. The Government had no alternative but to vindicate their authority as the custodians of law and order, or abdicate in favour of the Extremists and leave the lawabiding citizens to his fate. Happily, after the much procrastination, they have decided to inforce the law, They have accepted the challenge of the Extremists. It will be a fight to a finish, for there can be no treating with law peace and security, and who value liberty as the highest privilege of individuals must rally to the Government's side. For he who is not for law and

the Government's side. For he who is not for law and order in these critical times is against them, whether his attitude be that at an open ~~enemy~~ enemy like the Extremist, or thatof an apathetic ~~out~~on-lookers.

The Moplah Train Tragedy. 14 - 12 - 1921.

The debate provoked in the Madras Legislative council yesterday by Mr.R.K.Shanmugan chettiar's motion for the adjournment of the House to discuss, the deplorable train Tragedy at Bodanur was interesting, and, if it merely resulted in the motion being talked out, it has certainly served a useful purpose. It has helped to place clearly before the council the depth of public feeling on the matter and to indicate the line of action which the Government proposed to take to bring these responsible to book. The Home Member raised the preliminary objection that a discussion on the subject was premature. Since it was still under investigation by the knapp committee, but the President, in diference to the sense of the majority of the House, who were determined to have a public discussion even at the present stage, allowed the debate to proceed with the concurrence of His Excellency The Governor who, we are glad to note, respected the wishes of the majority and refrained from exercising his power of veto. While the Tragic event was admitted on all hands to be most deplorable, and the clamour to have those responsible punished was in every way justifeable, we are unable to agree with the view taken by certain non-official members that it was a mistake to have appointed Mr. Knapp to preside over the deliberations of the committee appointed by the Government. The Government had, within an hour of the receipt of the news of the occurance, summoned a meeting of the cabinet and issued a communique in which they set out the available facts and directed a responsible officer on

on the spot to hold a full and searching inquiry into the curcumstances which led to the deplorable loss of life and so much suffering among the unfortunate prisoners. Very soon afterwards, in difference to public opinion, the Government lost no time in directing three non-official gentlemen, well acquainted with conditions in Malabr, to be associated also with Mr.Knapp on the committee of Enquiry. There was no delay, nor was there any secrecy about the matter. In these circumstances it seems idel to declare, as some members have done, that the committee was a mere white washing" Committee and that Mr.Knapp, who is sought to be saddled with a share of responsibility, should have been chosen to preside over it.

It is futile to argue that Mr.Knapp, who had only been appointed as special commissioner of Malabar Affairs. Only a few days previously and whose attention must in the first instance have been engrossed in the more weighty problems of bringing the rebellion to an end and the work of reconstruction, should have personally devoted his attention to such a detail as the transport of prisoners. Some subordinate has undoubtedly blundered and to assert that Mr.Knapp owing to his personal responsibility for the blunder is not a fit person to preside over the committee is to use a forensic argument. It is also unreasonable, at a stage when the committee's inquiry is still unfinished, to pick out isolated portions of the evidence, as published in the news papers, and to proceed to opportion blame to any particular individua, or individuals, who, after all, may have

valid explanations to give. However that may be, there is no doubt that the debate, taken as a whole, has had the effect of indicating the extent of public indignation that the unfortunate occurance has caused, and at the same time of eliciting an assu rance from the Government that they are determined to get at the very root of the matter and to deal with the delinquent or delinquants in such matter as the findings of the committee may warrant. As to the numerous details connected with the tragedy, it would be safer to suspend judgement till the report of the committee is issued, for it is certainly premature at this stage to discuss such details. At the same time we confess we do not see much force in the disinction sought to be made on the side of the Government, that slow suffacation and not as physciation is the alleged cause of the death of the unfortunate victims. Be it slow suffocation or asplysciation, in neither case is the seriousness of the blunder minimised, or the negligence of those responsible rendered excusable.

<u>The Modern cure - all.</u> 19 - 12 - 1921.

Like appendicitis and neuritus, conferences are fashionable.....Conference, from the political doctors point of view, possess the great merit that if they do not cure the disease they are prescribed for they at least serve to bring into the limelight those who take part in their preparation and administration. And if there is one thing which the world's political doctors value above all others is limelight. It is to them what the naptha flares and the big drum are to the market qualk,, serving to direct the eyes of the world to them. India today is suffering from an internal upheaval. The cure is an old fashioned doctor would suggest is doubtless a dose of political castor oil leading to the Removal of the cause. Not so the modern political doctor- He prescribes a conference.... . The prime cause of the trouble the Extremists have already declared that they will be satisfied with nothing less than swaraj, by which term they mean, of course, the domination of the Extremist clique. a dictatorship of so-called leaders rivalling that of Lenin, Trotsky and Co in Russia.

We confess that we have no patience with men who seem to think that there is strange magic in a round table, a subtle force which changes revolutionaries into patriots. There is no such force. The non-co-operators, khilafatists, and Bolsheviks who are now defying the law will be none the less rebels when they sit round a table in company with Lord Reading, Liberals, Moderates and conservatives.

They will be even more belligerent. They will not diminish their tyrannical terms. On the contrary they will regard the conference as the first step to victory.........The most Moderate of Moderates and Liberals assert that the conference should consider what further political privilages and constitutional changes can at present be granted, in short what sop may be offered to the Extremists.

We contend most emphatically that whatever opinions may be held regarding the justification for further constitutional changes the present is not the time for a conference to consider the question. The Nation, all loyal citizens, those whose main desire is to enjoy the peace and security of ordered constitutional Government, must rally to the side of the defenders of law and order, must make it plain to the rebels that a free people refuse absolutely to be intimidated into according to their preposterous claims to rule the nation as they will. To yield to the Extremists bluster and bludgeoning by calling a conference at this moment is to help to elevate tyranny to the throne of justice.

<u>Who is yielding.</u> 23 - 12 - 1921.

A message from Calcutta indicates that the last has not been heard of the proposed Round Table conference to consider the political situation. It is understood that, as a result of a freshmessage received from Mr.Gandhi by Pundit Malaviya, party leaders at present in Calcutta have held a Conference and have drawn up terms which are to be placed before the Government. This means that forces are at work ariving at a compromise between the Extremists and the Government; The idea of a compromise is particularly distasteful. The used the word shows that those who are working to bring the Round Table conference about are seeking to induce the Government to concede something to the Extremists. But what is there to concede? It was with the ~~ceatc~~ greatest reluctance that Lord Reading rejected the proposal for a conference. Had it been at all possible for him to accede to the proposal, he would have done so, but there was one ~~re~~fact that he could not ignore, the fact that it is the prime duty of the Government to protect law abiding citizens and enforce the law. Lord Reading knew full well that so long as the Extremists continue breaking the law, his Government must enforce the law against them. That is an ~~demontary~~ elementary duty, to fail in its fulfilment would be to betray the country, and to hand over all law abiding citizens to the mercies of whatever man or party showed the greatest disregard for the law and waved the biggest stick.

The ~~little~~ talk of a compromise seem to suggest that there are those who believe that the Viceroy

can be induced to relax his adherence to even this elementary code of a Government's duty. If so, if it be that Lord Reading is being argued to make concessions to law breakers, if he is being tempted by false counsellors to barter principles for peace, it is time he was told that the vast majority of the people in India will not tolerate peace with dishonour, that a settlement bought by concessions to revolution will be rejected by all law abiding citizens in India and condemned by friends of India throughout the world. The present is the testing time for the Government, it is above all the acid test of Lord Reading's fitness for the viceroyality. Any concessions to revolution will be regarded on all sides as weakness. The revolutionaries themselves will take the greatest advantage of any weakness, and the loyalists will be discouraged by the knowledge that once again the Government have failed them. We emphasise the importance of a firm stand by Lord Reading because we feel sure that the leader of the Law breakers, Mr.Gandhi does not intend to yield. Let us have done with all talk of compromise, and have more regard to the duty of the Government to enforce, the law and of citizens to obey it.

Portents. 27 - 12 - 1921.

Among the most important news items of today are those which reach us from Ahmedabad, the ~~same~~ scene of the result meeting of the Extremist congress and the Khilafat conference. ~~Permanent~~ Pre-eminent among them is the news that the subjects committee of the congress proposes to invest Mr.Gandhi with dictatorial powers, to place in his hands the supreme control of the Hindu Extremist Party. No one who has studied the proceedings of the Extremist policy can have had any doubt that Mr.Gandhi was the supreme ~~nature~~ motive force in the revolutionary organisation. Those who dared to oppose Mr.Gandhi's ~~main~~ views were soon swept out of the Party, or ignored as being of no account.

This recognition is but a step in the Extremist Dictator's bid for the dictatorship of India. In the Swaraj which Mr.Gandhi ~~insualises~~ visualises ~~are~~ one figure stands supreme, controller of the nation's destinies, the being at whose word all must bend the knee. That figure is Mr.Gandhi himself His activities in South Africa, his elevation to the rostrun of the demogogues in that country gave him his first taste of power. The Extremist party has no belief in constitutional Government, its head has even been an avowed enemy of the policy which makes a people rulers in their own land. Absolute power for Mr.Gandhi or his nominee that is his creed, and that is the end ~~xxx~~ to which extremist politics are tending.

The attempts of the Extremists in Calcutta to browbeat and stampede the citizens into disloyal

indifference to their Royal visition failed miserably. The hartal failed. The people of Calcutta have learnt the lesson that the Extremist intimidators are not all powerful, that the Government are still ready to protect the law abiding citizen from those who would tyrannise over him. Government firmness in making those who break the law face the consequences of their offence is bearing good fruit in renewed confidence among the masses, in the preparedness of the authorities to defend the law.

While Mr.Gandhi is busy scheming to secure for himself, a Hindu, the dictatorship of the country, the Mohomedan President of the Khilafat conference speaks of India as one of the links in the chain of the future Islamic Federation, a Phrase which obviously canveys his belief in the coming supremacy of the Mohamadans. Again, while Mr.Gandhi parts about non-violence, more of his followers, notably the sikhs, and the Muhamedans insist that violence he recognised to be a legitimate means of bringing about the success of the revolution. They are cunningly desired both to delude and to inflame the people. It is for the lawabiding citizens to decide whether he shall succeed, whether India is to be plunged into revolution.

Extremist Mutality.   29 - 12 - 1921.

~~Hatred~~ Hatred is a dangerous passion to indulge. It is capable of harming the hater more than the hated, by revealing to the world the baser qualities of the hater's mind. ~~Thesexxxx~~ Thus we find Khilafatists, led away by their hatred of all things British, indulging in a eulogium of the rebels in Malabar. The Khilafatists have no sympathy for the victims of these rebels. Read the terms of their resolution - They condemned What they are pleased to call the Government atrocities in Malabar, sympathise with the Moplahs in their suffering, and congratulate them on their sacrifices in the cause of religion. It is true that they also condemn the forcible conversion of Hindus, but that is an after thought, while there is no pity for the Hindu victims of the Moplahs, no condemnation of brutal murder, rape, robbery, mutiliation and arison in which the Moplahs have so freely indulged. These ~~creuel~~ cruels rebels, murderers of innocent men and women, outrages of enemy law of God and man, are congratulated on teir services and sacrifices to religion, and inferentially, held up as models for other Muslims to follow.

Such is the true Extremist mentality - India has every reason to be thankful that the Khilafat conference was helt at this juncture. It has ~~saved~~ served to reveal the inner workings of the Extremist mind, the true direction in which Extremist plans are working, namely, revolution, with all its attendent horrors of civil war, murder, and rapine which we have seen in Malabar. The mind which can congratulate

the Moplahs on their foul outrages needs no great stimulus to emulate its peroes' horrible deeds.

Mr.Gandhi may save about peace, may declare that he is a man of peace, may conceal for a time the red flag of rebellion beneath yards of white Khadher; but he can not prevent his Muslim frenchmen from occasionally lifting the cover and revealing to the lawabiding citizens of India the symbol of the horrors being prepared for them. Let no one be deceived by the Extremist Dictator. He speaks of peace, of the door being open for a conference between the Extremists and the Government But he makes it clear that, to inter that door the Government must pay the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ price of absolute subservience to the Extremist Dictator, must abandon all loyal citizens to the tender meries of men who applaud the Moplah atrocities. Mr.Gandhi talks of peace while in his heart we knows that he is beading the country for the most terrible of all wars, civil war.

All this talk of civil disobedience, of absolute non-violence, is so much hot air. It is delivered in the midst of surroundings which must inflame the passions of the many young men who listen to it, surroundings which emphaise its essentially cymical nature. At the beshet of its Dictator the congress has issued a challenge to lawful authority It has challenged the constitutional Government of the country and all who believe in constitutional methods. The fight is to be a fight to a finish. There can be no parleying with men who are enemies of law and order, who wilfully attack the liberty of citizens. Mr.Gandhi knows this. He knows that the young men to whom he addresses his provocative speeches

~~xxxxxxx~~ will not be content with non-violent methods. They will follow the lead of their moslem comrades and the example of Malabr and Bombay. While Mr.Gandhi seeks to portray his followers as little ~~goods~~ guards superior to the weakness of mankind, Moslems, more blent thank, remind us that they are but men, subject to all the passions of men, as quick to ~~arguexxxxxxx~~ anger and as ready to strike. These are the men whom lawabiding Indians have to deal with, not derogogues who mark bloodshed and then, like Mr.Gandhi in Bombay, deplore their inability to control the forces they have caused. All lawabiding citizens must, therefore, realise that there can be no true place in India untill the Extremist Dictator and his follower are made to see that Indians loyal sons are determined to check them in their wild courses, and will support seenful authority in carrying out its task of ~~minclicating~~ vindicating the law and protecting the lawabiding.

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